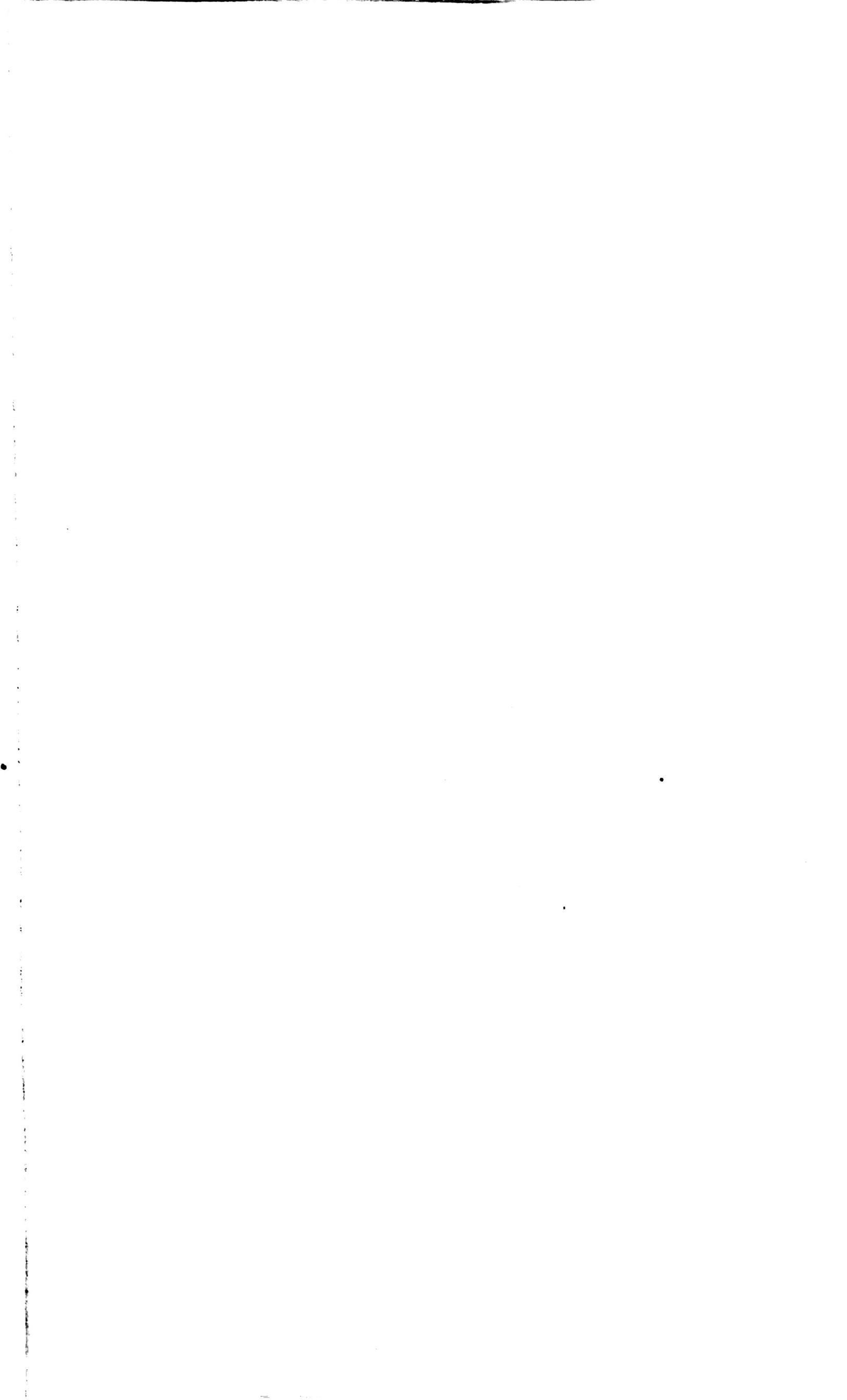




RULE STATUTES AND CUSTOMS OF
THE HOSPITALLERS, 1099-1310

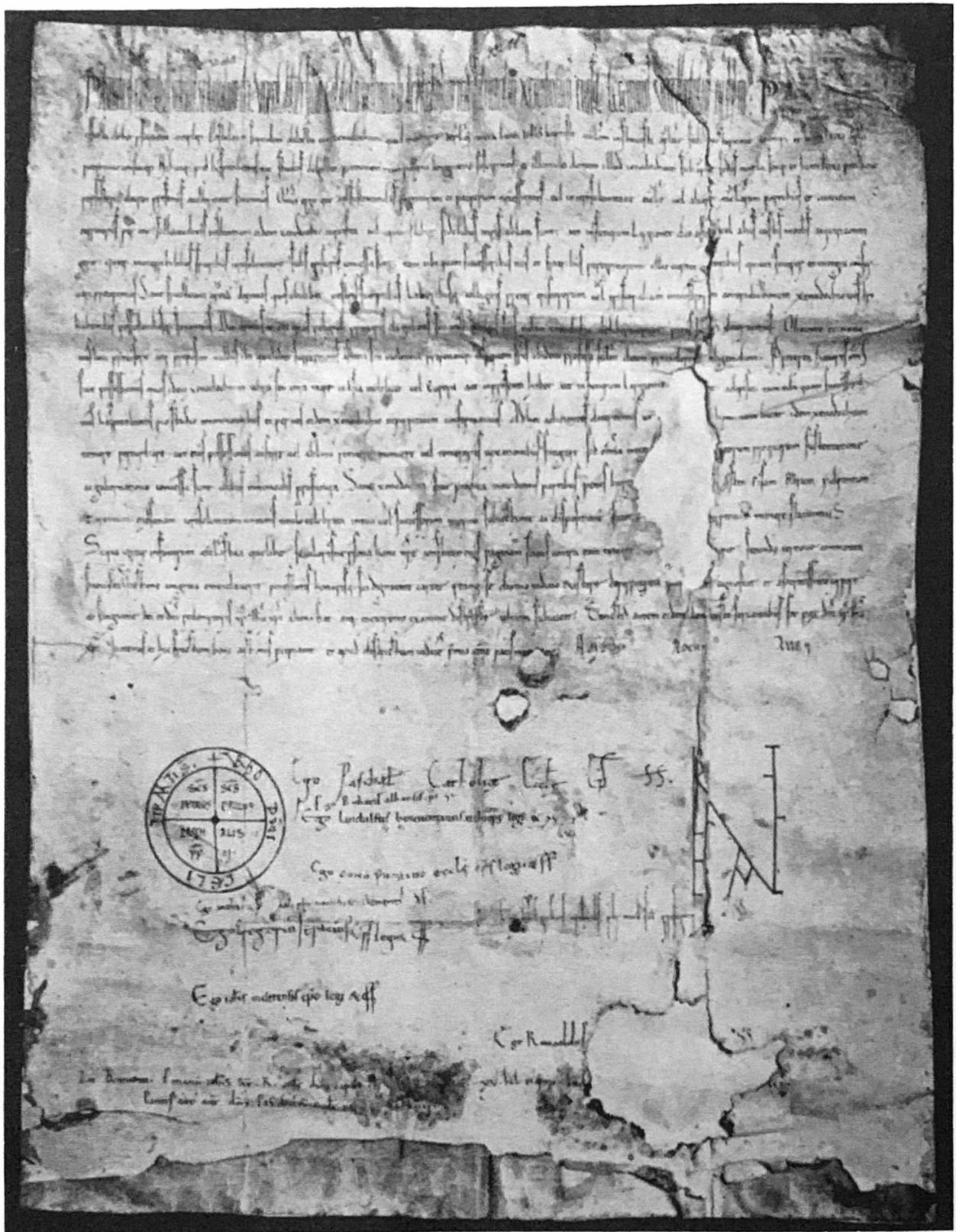




**THE RULE STATUTES AND CUSTOMS
OF THE HOSPITALLERS**

1099—1310

**AMS PRESS
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BULL OF POPE PASCHAL II CONFIRMING THE FOUNDATION OF
THE ORDER

In the Palace Armoury, Valletta

THE RULE STATUTES AND CUSTOMS OF THE HOSPITALLERS

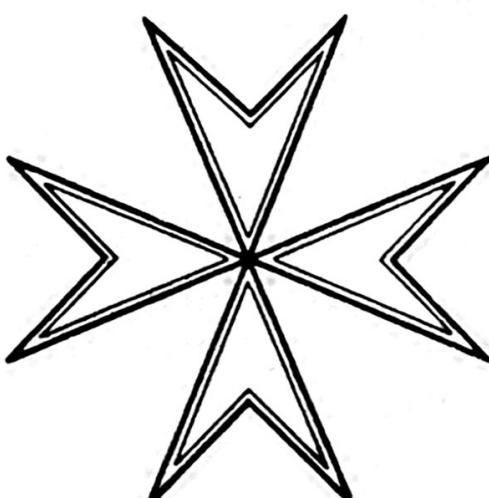
1099—1310

With Introductory Chapters and Notes

BY

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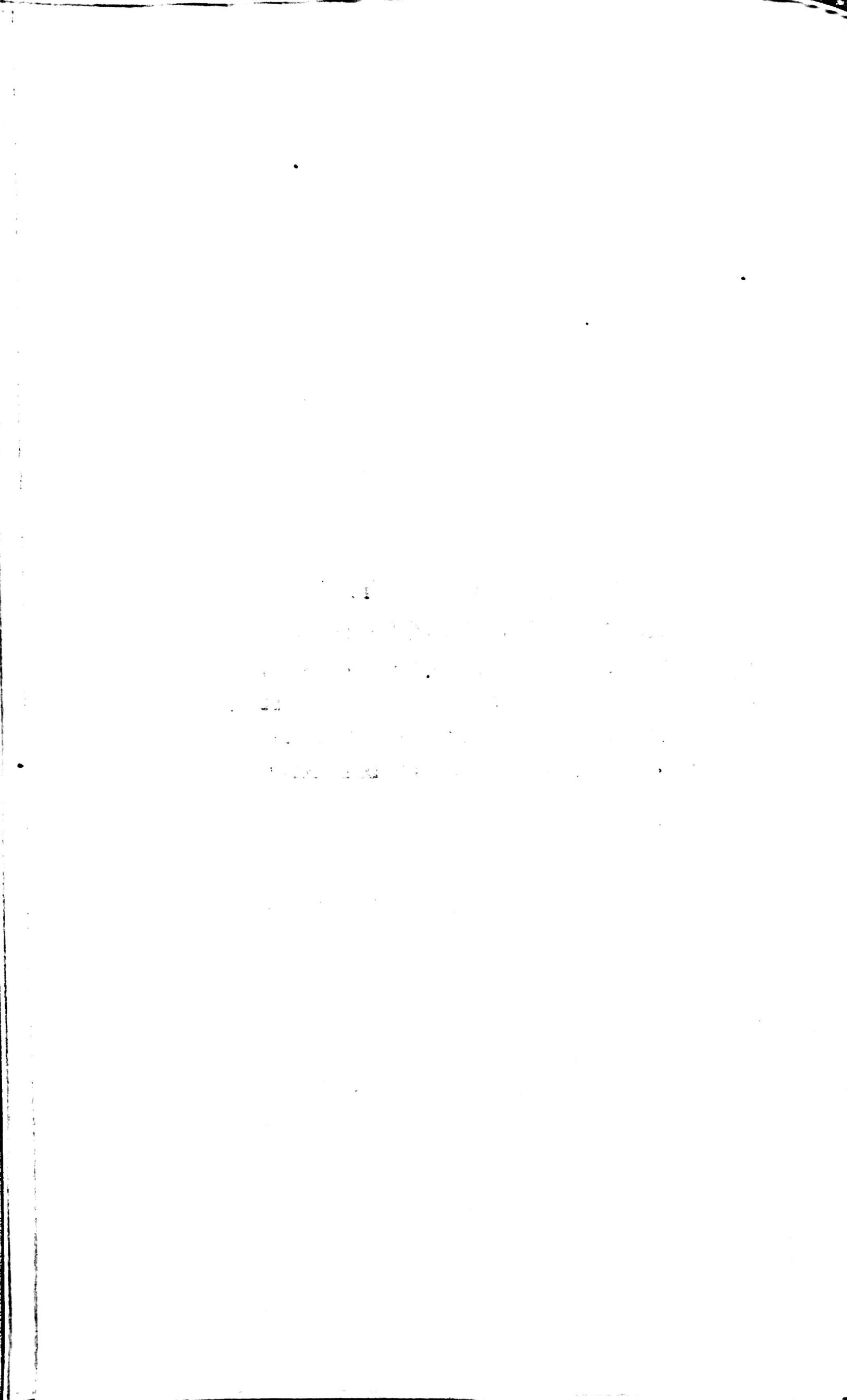
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MANUFACTURED
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TO
MAJOR-GENERAL THE
EARL OF SCARBOROUGH, K.G.
SUB-PRIOR OF THE BRITISH ORDER OF ST. JOHN
UNDER WHOM THE WRITER HAS BEEN PRIVILEGED
TO SERVE FOR SO MANY HAPPY YEARS
THIS BOOK IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED



PREFACE

THE original Latin and old French versions of the Rule Statutes and Customs of the Hospitallers down to the occupation of Rhodes in 1310 were first published in 1894 in Delaville Le Roulx's *Cartulaire-Général des Hospitaliers*. No English Translation of these important documents has as yet been published, and it is therefore hoped that this study of the early institutions of the greatest of the Military Religious Orders may be of real value and assistance to the student. Had these documents been available in a form easy of reference, many of the errors made in the past by English writers on the History of the Knights of St. John would have been avoided. To the student of history they are and will always remain the indispensable foundation upon which his work must be based. We can here trace step by step the stages by which a little hospice for pilgrims in Jerusalem gradually adapted its organization and administration to the military necessities of the age, increasing in power and wealth with each generation, until at last at the beginning of the fourteenth century it stood ready to enter upon its great historic mission as a Sovereign Order, first in Rhodes and then in Malta, the firmest bulwark of Christianity against the advancing naval power of the Moslem.

x THE STATUTES OF THE HOSPITALLERS

The translation of these documents has presented many difficulties, and I desire to express my most grateful thanks to Miss Ethel Stokes, whose wide knowledge of medieval French and Latin have been of the greatest assistance to me. I must also express my gratitude to Mr. H. W. Fincham, F.S.A., for his kindness in preparing the illustrations; and last, but by no means least, to my dear wife for the constant help and encouragement that she has given to me in this work.

E. J. K.

26th November, 1933

122 & 123 Riley - Smith

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ANSWER

1. The author of the book "The Great Gatsby" is F. Scott Fitzgerald.

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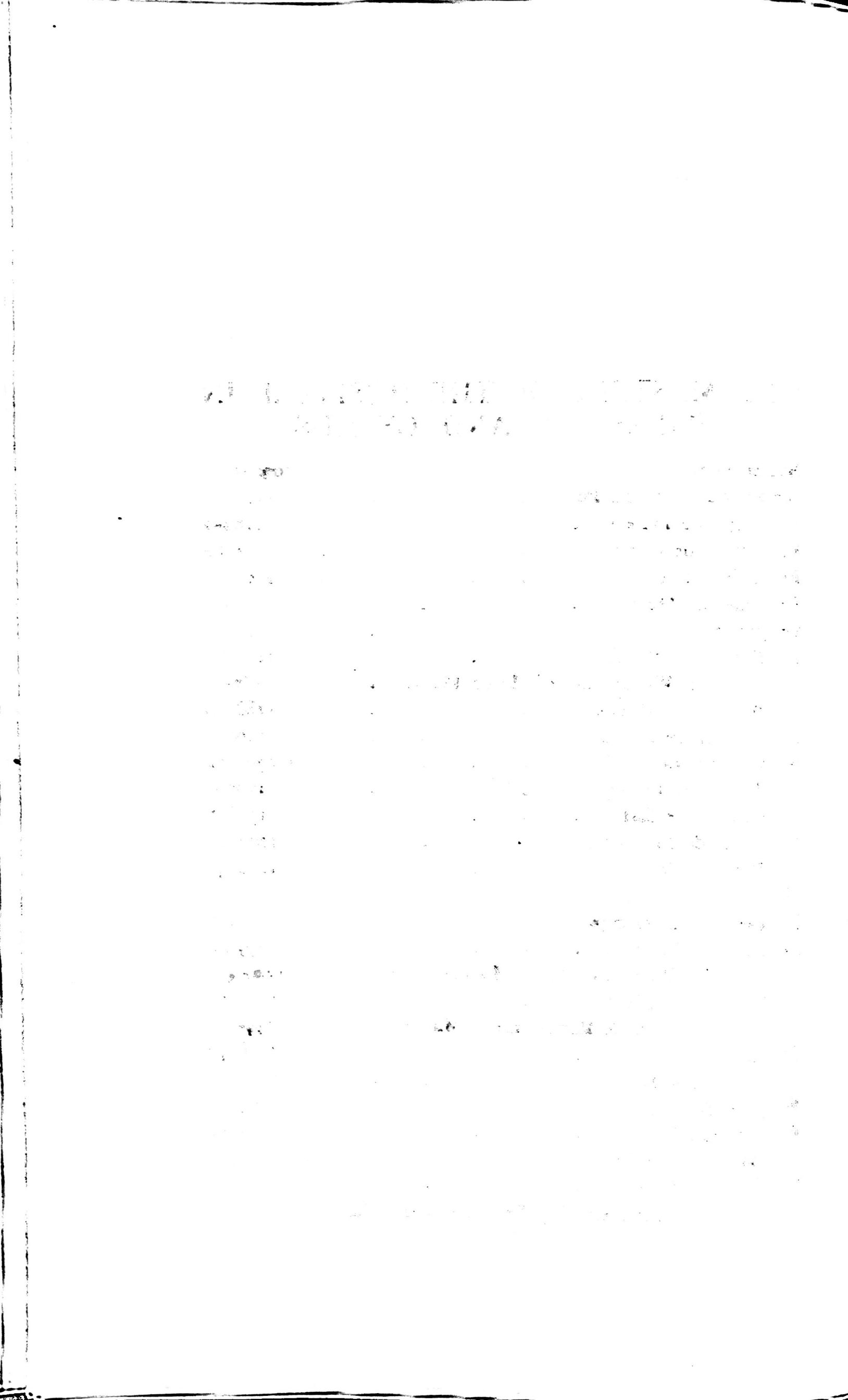


useful

THE MASTERS OF THE HOSPITAL IN PALESTINE AND CYPRUS

Blessed Gerard	1099-1120
Blessed Raymond du Puy	1120-60
Fr. Auger de Balben	1160-2
Fr. Arnold de Comps	1162
Fr. Gilbert d'Assailly	1162-70
Fr. Caste de Murols	1170-2
Fr. Jobert	1172-7
Fr. Roger des Moulins	1177-87
(Fr. William Borrell, Lieut.-Master)	1187-8)
Fr. Armengaud d'Aspe	1188-90
Fr. Garnier de Nablus	1190-2
Fr. Geoffrey de Donjon	1193-1202
Fr. Alfonso of Portugal	1203-6
Fr. Geoffrey le Rat	1206-7
Fr. Garin de Montaigu	1207-28
Fr. Bertrand de Thessy	1228-30
Fr. Guérin	1230-6
Fr. Bertrand de Comps	1236-9
Fr. Peter de Villebride	1239-42
(Fr. William de Senlis, Lieut.-Master)	1239-41)
Fr. William de Chateauneuf	1242-58
(Fr. John de Ronay, Lieut.-Master)	1244-50)
Fr. Hugh Revel	1258-77
Fr. Nicholas le Lorgne	1277-85
Fr. John de Villiers	1285-94
Fr. Odo des Pins	1294-6
Fr. William de Villaret	1296-1305
Fr. Fulk de Villaret	1305-10

THE CONQUEST OF RHODES



THE RULE STATUTES AND CUSTOMS OF THE HOSPITALLERS, 1099—1310

PART I THE RULE AND STATUTES

I

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

THE origin of the Military Religious Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem has been traced back to the hospice for Latin pilgrims established in Jerusalem by the Abbot Probus about the year 600, acting under the instructions of Pope Gregory the Great. This hospice with the Hospital attached to it was under the control of the Benedictine Abbot of St. Maria Latina, until the capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders in the year 1099.¹ At this time a certain Gerard, probably from Martigues in Provence, and better known to history as the Blessed Gerard, was ruling the Hospital. He had been able to render valuable services to the Crusaders, and doubtless owing to the influence thus obtained was able to free the Hospital from the control of the Benedictines, and to found a separate order of Hospitallers,

¹ See Delaville Le Roulx, *De prima origine Hospitalariorum Hierosolymitanorum.*

2 THE STATUTES OF THE HOSPITALLERS

the foundation of which was confirmed some years later in 1113 by the Bull of Pope Paschal II.

The Blessed Gerard governed his new order of Hospitallers according to the Augustinian Rule, and it was left to his famous successor to draw up that code of regulations, always known as the Rule of Raymond du Puy, upon which all subsequent Statutes and Ordinances were based. The Rule consisted originally of fifteen clauses, to which four further clauses were afterwards added, and as we should expect they are based on the Augustinian Rule, from which clauses 4, 8, 13 and 17 have been taken in their entirety. The whole code deals only with the simple problems of the primitive monastic institution, the vows and conduct of the brethren, their food, clothing and morality, the collection of alms, and the care of the sick, and from it we learn that the Hospitallers, like other religious Orders, included both clerical and lay brethren. At what date the Rule was first promulgated we do not know, we are only told in the *Chronicle of the Deceased Masters*¹ that it was confirmed by Pope Eugenius III, who was reigning between 1145 and 1153.² Probably it was drawn up at quite an early date, many years before the papal confirmation, for we find in it no reference to military duties, and no reference to the Bailiffs, or to the familiar administrative system, the foundations of which must have been laid by Raymond du Puy. From the Rule we learn only that there were subordinate establishments, spoken of as houses or obediences, and presided over by masters or procurators.

The militarization of the Hospitallers was the great work of Raymond du Puy. It was a slow and gradual

¹ The Latin version of the *Chronicle of the Deceased Masters* is printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, Vol. VI, Part II, pp. 796, 797, and an English translation in King's *Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land*, Appendix B.

² For the Bull of Eugenius III, dated 1153, see the *Cartulaire-Général des Hospitaliers*, Vol. I, No. 217.

process, apparently inspired by the example of the Templars. Probably a body of military brethren was first formed in 1123 to meet the serious Egyptian invasion of Palestine in that year.¹ Then in 1136 the Hospitallers undertook responsibility for the frontier on the side of Ascalon, and furnished the garrison for King Fulk's newly-built castle of Jibelin. Six years later they took over the guardianship of the eastern frontier of the County of Tripolis at the request of Count Raymond I, and garrisoned the famous castle of Le Crac, and a group of border fortresses covering the valley of El-Bukaia, and the road to Homs. For the unsuccessful attack on Damascus in 1148 by the armies of the Second Crusade, they were able to provide a powerful contingent, and at the long siege of Ascalon in 1153 they played a part scarcely less important than that of the Templars. While the original Rule of Raymond du Puy makes no mention of military duties, at some later date after the loss of Jerusalem when the Order was completely militarized, an addition to it was made, and the first clause was altered to read : 'Firstly I ordain that all the brethren engaging in the service of the poor AND THE DEFENCE OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH shall keep with God's help the three promises that they have made,' etc. It seems very probable that this alteration was made by the Master Alfonso of Portugal. From the letter of Pope Alexander III mentioned later, we learn that when instituting his class of military brethren, Raymond du Puy had laid down as a guiding principle that they must never draw the sword, except when the Standard of the Cross was displayed either for the defence of the kingdom of Jerusalem, or in the siege of some pagan city, but the contemporary record of this Statute has now disappeared with so many others of this period.

The Blessed Raymond du Puy died in the year 1160 full of years and honours, the first great hero of his

¹ See King's *Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land*, pp. 32, 33.

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Order. The next Master to institute new Statutes was the Anglo-Norman Gilbert d'Assailly (1162-70), of whom the *Chronicle* tells us that 'he made good ordinances'. Unfortunately these have not survived the passage of time, probably they contained the early administrative regulations, which have completely disappeared, and they must almost certainly have included regulations relating to the military organization. For Gilbert d'Assailly was far more of a soldier than a monk, and under his rule the militarization of the Hospitallers proceeded so rapidly, that by 1168 we find them rivalling the Templars, and able to furnish a force for the invasion of Egypt of 500 Knights and Serjeants and 500 Turcopoles.

Under his two successors, who were monks rather than soldiers, Caste de Murols (1170-2) and Jobert (1172-7), there appears to have been a distinct reaction against militarism. Of the Master Jobert we are told in the *Chronicle* that 'he established good Statutes for the service of God and the Church, and for the benefit of our lords the sick'. These Statutes have come down to us; the first is dated 1176 in some MSS., and 1177 in others, and relates to the provision of white bread for the sick in the Hospital. The second is undated, but obviously cannot be later than 1177: it relates to the services of the Church, more particularly to the Trental, or thirty masses to be said for the soul of a deceased brother.

On the death of the Master Jobert the military party amongst the Hospitallers was once more in the ascendant, and a gallant soldier, the Anglo-Norman Roger des Moulins, was elected Master. So predominant now was the influence of the military element that Pope Alexander III considered it necessary to write to the new Master, and to remind him that the primary object of the existence of his Order was charitable and not military, and that the principles laid down by Raymond du Puy must be strictly observed.¹ The statutes of Roger des Moulins are of considerable value and interest; they contain a

¹ See *Cartulaire-Général des Hospitaliers*, Vol. I, No. 527.

number of detailed regulations relating mainly to the Hospital and to the charities of the Order, but throwing considerable light upon its organization and administration. The clause concerning child-welfare is particularly striking, showing how thorough even at this early period were all the arrangements in the Hospital. From these statutes we learn that the administrative system of the Hospitallers was now firmly established, we find mention of the Bailiffs, Priors and Commanders, and of their liability to the payment of Responsions, and in them we have the first definite reference to a separate class of military brethren.

Roger des Moulins fell in battle against El-Afdal, Saladin's son, at the Fountain of Cresson, near Cana of Galilee, on May 1st, 1187, fighting desperately to the last against fearful odds. He was a great and noble man, and his character is worthily summed up in the *Chronicle of the Deceased Masters*, which tells us that

he was a man of great wisdom, and vigorous in battle; a good man and pious and very high-minded, and he loved much his brethren and our lords the sick. He procured a confirmation of the Rule by Pope Lucius¹ and laid down good Statutes.

Two months after his death the army of Jerusalem was annihilated in the disastrous battle of Hattin, all Palestine was overrun by the Saracens, and in the autumn the Holy City surrendered to Saladin. In consequence the Hospitallers were compelled to evacuate Jerusalem, and transferred their Convent to the castle of Margat, on the frontiers of Antioch and Tripolis, which had only been acquired by Roger des Moulins the previous year. Deprived of their famous Hospital, it was no longer possible for them to carry out their original charitable duties, and during the five years' war that followed they became completely transformed, and at its end the Hospitallers were as purely a military order as the

¹ See *Cartulaire-Général des Hospitaliers*, Vol. I, No. 690. Pope Lucius III was reigning 1181-5.

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Templars themselves. Henceforward the primary object of their existence was to be the defence of the Christian Faith, and their charitable duties remained but a secondary consideration, until the loss of Malta and changing circumstances restored them to their primitive importance.

When the Treaty of Ramleh once more brought peace to the Holy Land, very few of the original Hospitallers can have been still surviving, and the gaps in their ranks had been filled by a constant stream of young Knights from Europe, to whom the strict conventional discipline and the ancient charitable traditions of the Order were quite unknown. To restore the broken continuity with the past was to be no easy task, and during the weak rule of the Master Geoffrey de Donjon, which lasted ten years (1193-1202), all discipline seems to have disappeared. During the short German crusade of 1197-8, the Convent was transferred from Margat to Acre, and a new Hospital was established. But no sooner was the crusade over than the latent jealousy and rivalry between the Hospitallers and Templars suddenly burst into flame. The Knights of the two Orders broke away from all control, and it required the intervention of the Pope to put an end to a state of affairs that was almost assuming the proportions of a civil war. When the Master Geoffrey de Donjon died in 1202, it was decided to select a Master from outside the ranks of the Hospitallers, whose position and reputation should be such as would command their unquestioning respect and obedience. The choice fell upon Alfonso of Portugal, a natural son of the famous Alfonso Henriques, the first King of Portugal, whose heroic deeds against the infidel were celebrated throughout the length and breadth of Europe.

During the short period that he ruled over the Hospital, Alfonso of Portugal devoted his entire energies to the restoration of the old conventional discipline. There was a short war against the Saracens from 1204-5, and then in the following year he summoned the Chapter-General

to meet at Margat, where his presence was needed owing to the troubled state of affairs in the principality of Antioch. But his stern rule had been highly unpopular, and the order for the Chapter-General to meet at Margat and not at Acre was at once seized upon as a grievance, and an attempt was made to maintain that it was not lawful for the Chapter-General to meet anywhere outside the Kingdom of Jerusalem.¹ The subsequent proceedings were stormy in the extreme. The Master submitted to Chapter-General a complete code of regulations, which apparently contained nothing definitely new, but rather consolidated and strengthened the Statutes of his predecessors and the ancient customs of the Order. These Statutes were duly passed, and are always known to history as the Statutes of Margat. But certain further disciplinary regulations of his own were summarily rejected, there was a violent scene, and the Master in great anger resigned his position. The *Chronicle* speaks of Alfonso of Portugal as follows :

The good customs laid down by the Master Roger were confirmed at Margat. He made good Statutes, and it so happened that he issued a certain order to his Convent, and because the Convent did not obey him, he resigned his office as Master, and flung down the seal, which was taken up by the Bailiffs, and they chose another Master. Then he set out for Portugal, but was poisoned on the journey by those of his own race, and died.

The extent of the influence of Alfonso of Portugal on his Order can scarcely be exaggerated ; he restored the ancient discipline of the Hospitallers, and set them once more upon the right road. His work was completed and consolidated by his successor Garin de Montaigu during his long rule of twenty-one years (1207-28), of whom we are told that 'he was a very upright man, and was deeply distressed at the resignation of the Master Alfonso, for he had a great affection for him on account of his honourable character'. The Statutes of Margat remained one of the corner-stones of their constitution

¹ See Delaville Le Roux, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte*, p. 131.

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throughout the history of the Hospitallers, and we find continual references to them down to quite a late date.¹ From them we get our first insight into the constitution of Chapter-General, and the system of electing the Master, and in them we find the first complete list of the Conventual Bailiffs. But it must be remembered that the organization thus revealed was in no way new, but as we are distinctly told in the very first paragraph 'existed of old', and probably dates back to the days of Raymond de Puy.

For the next sixty years the Hospitallers were governed by the Rule of Raymond du Puy, the Statutes of Margat and the Good Customs of their Order, which are set out in Part II of this work. During this period we have no record of any meetings of Chapter-General, other than for the purpose of electing new Masters, and apparently no new Statutes were passed. The only constitutional change was the decree of the Master Bertrand de Comps (1236-9), giving the Knights precedence over the clerical brethren, following the example of the Templars and the other military Orders. Until this time the clerical brethren had taken precedence over all the military brethren, as we know from the clause in the Statutes of Margat dealing with the election of the Masters, where the priest still comes before the Knight. The change was the outward sign of that complete militarization of the Hospitallers that had taken place since the loss of Jerusalem. In speaking of this change the *Chronicle* tells us that Bertrand de Comps 'made concessions to the knightly brethren, and he exalted them in the Religion (i.e. the Order) with many honours, and increased their superiority over the other brethren more than any other Master'.

¹ In the Statutes of Cardinal Verdala of the year 1584 we find references to the Statutes of Margat in Title IX, Para. 15, concerning the sick brethren, in Title X, Para. 2 concerning the authority of the Marshal, and in Title XVI, Para. 1, concerning business transactions.

When the Master Hugh Revel assumed office in the year 1258, the affairs of the Hospitallers were badly in need of complete revision, and to meet ever changing conditions fresh legislation had become very necessary. Other duties prevented the new Master from beginning his great work of reform until 1262, when he summoned Chapter-General to meet at Acre, and laid before it a long code of 52 Statutes, all of which were duly passed. In each of the three following years Chapter-General was summoned for the purpose of adding to this legislation, and 23 supplementary clauses were sanctioned. Further reforms had to be delayed for a time owing to the disastrous war with the Sultan Beybars which culminated in the year 1268 with the loss of Jaffa, Belfort and Antioch. But in the autumn of that year Chapter-General once more met at Acre, and in the last ten years of Hugh Revel's rule, a further 30 Statutes were passed. During the nineteen years of his reign the Master had been responsible for 104 new Statutes, completely revising the administration and discipline of his Order. Perhaps the most interesting and far-reaching of all these Statutes was the one passed in 1262, which lays down that the Knights of the Order must be sons of Knights or of knightly families, defined somewhat later as 'born of parents noble both by name and arms', from which arises the historic distinction between Knights of Justice and Knights of Grace.

When Hugh Revel died in 1277 he had made the most important contribution to the legislation of the Hospitallers that was to be made by any of their rulers. One of the wisest and ablest of the Masters of the Hospital, his great work was fully appreciated by the brethren of his Order, by whom he was always remembered as Brother Hugh the Reformer.¹ The *Chronicle of the Deceased Masters* sums up his career in the following very striking terms :

¹ See Delaville Le Roulx *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte*, p. 229.

He was a man remarkable for the soundness of his judgement and his capacity, and he placed the affairs of the House on a sound basis. For the other Masters, his predecessors, had made no reforms, but had merely maintained the good customs of the House. But he laid down everything afresh, not only by codifying the Statutes of others, but by ordaining new and useful Statutes of his own.

From the days of Hugh Revel we find a steady stream of fresh legislation proceeding from Chapter-General, by which the Statutes of the Order were kept up to date, and in accordance with the needs of the age, but all new Statutes naturally required the approval of the Pope, before they could be enforced. Under the Master Nicholas Le Lorgne (1277-85), Chapter-General met twice and sanctioned 34 new Statutes, of which the most important was that passed in 1278, instituting the Conventional Bulla, the Great Seal of the Convent. We also learn from the *Chronicle* that under the same Master a decree was issued ordering the arms of the Order to be painted upon the shields of the military brethren. ‘In his time red shields with a white cross were introduced, and it was laid down that the brethren should wear black mantles, also the Conventional Seal was instituted, and many other good Statutes of the House besides.’

The Master John de Villiers (1285-94) presided over the last Chapter-General ever held in Acre, and over two subsequent meetings held at Limassol in Cyprus, passing in all 26 new Statutes, and specifically confirming 6 others, that had been passed in 1283. From one of the Statutes of William de Villaret of the year 1302, we learn that John de Villiers introduced certain changes in the system of electing the Masters,¹ but of this fact no other record exists. To judge from later custom it seems probable that he gave to each nation or Tongue an equal voice in the selection of the first three electors, later known as the Triumvirate, whereas previously the immense preponderance of Frenchmen

¹ See Para. 16 of 1302, p. 126.



THE GREAT SEAL OF THE CONVENT
In the British Museum.

in the Order had effectively deprived every other nation of any voice in the election.

John de Villiers' successor, Odo des Pins (1294-6), held two meetings of Chapter-General at Limassol, and passed 8 new Statutes, of which one is of particular interest, since it contains the earliest complete list of the Grand Priories that we possess. Odo des Pins appears to have been far more of a monk than a soldier, and devoid of administrative ability ; he is said to have been a man of extreme piety, and, by neglecting his other duties, to have driven the Order into revolt against his authority.¹ The *Chronicle* sums up his career in the following terms :

In his time the prestige of our Religion was greatly lowered owing to his unfitting behaviour. In consequence of this the Pope intervened in the affairs of our Religion, a thing which has never before been seen, for the Pope has never intervened in our affairs in the time of any other Master.² And he addressed threatening letters to the said Master, which he irreverently and contemptuously disregarded.³ For this reason he was summoned (to Rome), and in obeying the summons he died on the journey. Nevertheless, however, he laid down many good statutes.

The Master William de Villaret, who succeeded Odo des Pins, showed a strong inclination to stay in France, and not to proceed to Cyprus. In 1297, the year after his succession, contrary to all custom, he assembled a Chapter-General at Avignon, which afterwards transferred its deliberations to Marseilles. When he ordered

¹ For the scheme of reform drawn up and placed before the Pope by certain representative brethren, see Appendix B.

² The Order always resented papal intervention, and this is no doubt the explanation of a statement, which is entirely contrary to the facts. The Pope as first superior of all religious Orders claimed, and continually exercised, the right to intervene, whenever he thought fit. In 1172 he had forbidden the re-election of the Master Gilbert d'Assailly, in 1179 he had issued a warning to the Master Roger des Moulins, in 1236 he severely rebuked the Master Guérin, and in 1238 he threatened to depose the Master Bertrand de Comps, and numerous other examples could be quoted.

³ The letter of Pope Boniface VIII is printed in Appendix A.

the Chapter-General to meet again at Avignon in 1300, the indignation of the Convent could no longer be controlled. So strong were their representations that the Master had no choice but to yield to their wishes, and proceeding to Cyprus he held the Chapter-General of that year at Limassol. In the Statutes passed on that occasion, it was clearly laid down that so long as the Convent remained in Cyprus, the Chapter-General must be held at Limassol, and the proceedings of the Chapter-General so irregularly held at Avignon and Marseilles were declared null and void, except for one Statute relating to the election of the Master.¹

Under William de Villaret the Chapter-General met annually at Limassol, and passed no fewer than 114 new Statutes in five years, even more than during the long rule of Hugh Revel. Their effect was greatly to diminish the arbitrary powers previously exercised by the Masters. From these Statutes we learn that the number of the Conventional Bailiffs was still only five, until the Admiral was added in 1300, and the Turcopolier in 1303. We also learn that the establishment of military brethren in the Convent was fixed at 70 Knights and 10 Serjeants-at-Arms, and since each Knight had 2 esquires, and each Serjeant 1, we have a total of 230 in the Convent, besides Chaplains and Serjeants-at-Office. Before the loss of the Holy Land the establishment was probably at least twice as high, but we have no exact information on the subject. The *Chronicle* speaks very highly of William de Villaret, and tells us that

he was Prior of St. Gilles, and dwelt in the parts beyond the sea. In consequence of this the Convent wrote to him setting out some of the faults of his predecessors, and what he should take particular care to avoid, both in his own conduct and in his governance of the Religion.² And in this he did not fail, for with conspicuous devotion, he restored and ennobled his Religion with good statutes, and with customs worthy of praise.

¹ See Para. 20 of 1300, and Para. 16 of 1302, pp. 107, 126.

² This letter is printed in Appendix C.

William de Villaret's successor was his nephew Fulk de Villaret, then Grand Commander of the Hospital. The *Chronicle* tells us that 'he was a man of the greatest energy, but on account of his haughtiness the brethren of the Convent held him in hatred'. He was soon to be famous as the conqueror of Rhodes. In 1305 and 1306 he presided over the last two Chapters-General ever held at Limassol, but of the numerous Statutes passed, all were subsequently annulled except four, which have very little interest. With the conquest of Rhodes in 1310 a new era begins in the history of the Hospitallers.

It is impossible to understand the early Statutes and customs of the Hospitallers, without some knowledge of their system of administration and organization at this period. The Convent, the name always given to the headquarters of the Order in the East, was governed by the Master assisted by the Prior of the Church, responsible for the Chaplains, and five Capitular Bailiffs, later known as the Conventional Bailiffs, who were as follows :

- (1) The Grand Commander, exercising a general supervision over the estates and properties of the Order.
- (2) The Marshal, the minister of War.
- (3) The Hospitaller, in charge of the Hospital and Charities.
- (4) The Drapier, the quartermaster of the Order.
- (5) The Treasurer, the minister of finance.

To these were added in Cyprus two new Capitular Bailiffs, the Admiral and the Turcopolier. There was also a Grand Commander d'outremer, or during the last 100 years separate Grand Commanders in France, Spain, Italy and Germany, exercising a general supervision over the estates and properties beyond the sea.

The Brethren of the Convent, divided into Knights, Chaplains and Serjeants-at-Arms, were organized by

nations or Tongues, at first probably four in number, French, Spanish, Italian and German, but increased to seven during the thirteenth century, namely : Provence, Auvergne, France, England, Spain, Italy, and Germany.

The Chapter-General was the supreme legislative authority, and met at the summons of the Master. It consisted of those Bailiffs who were appointed by the Master and Chapter-General and were therefore known as Capitular Bailiffs, and of the Companions of the Master, and apparently of such other brethren as the Master might select.

The provincial administration 'beyond the sea' ('d'outremer') was in the hands of nineteen Priors and the Castellan of Amposta, and 'this side the sea' ('deça mer') in the hands of the Bailiffs of Syria, who consisted of the Castellans of Le Crac and Margat, and the Commanders of Armenia, Antioch, Cyprus, Tripolis, Tiberias and Tyre.¹ Whether the Prior of Constantinople, who disappears at an early date, was included among the Bailiffs of Syria, or should be added to the nineteen Priors beyond the sea, is doubtful.² All these were Capitular Bailiffs, and under them the estates of the Order were grouped for administrative purposes into subordinate bailiwicks, over whom were lesser Bailiffs, generally known as Commanders, appointed by the Priors and their Provincial Chapters. The term Commander in Latin documents is translated Preceptor, and it must always be remembered that these two words are interchangeable, and denote the same official.

The exact significance of the term 'bailiff' is sometimes a little obscure in these early Statutes. In origin the Bailiff's character was military, and he was an officer of the 'short robe' and not of the 'long robe'.

¹ The list of the Capitular Bailiffs of Syria is obtained by a comparison between Para. 8 of the Statutes of 1181, Para. 5 of 1270, and Para. 5 of 1283, pp. 36, 37, 75, 82.

² In the Statutes of Roger des Moulins he is mentioned with the Bailiffs of Syria.

He was the chief officer of any noble of importance, and held the feudal court of assizes in his lord's absence. The Hospitallers originally used the term collectively of all their officials, great and small, distinguishing as we have seen between those appointed by Chapter-General, and those appointed by subordinate bodies such as the Provincial Chapters. The former for distinction are frequently spoken of as 'Baillis par Chapitre-general', that is, Capitular Bailiffs, or occasionally as Grand Bailiffs,¹ and the latter simply as Bailiffs, lesser Bailiffs² or Commanders, the offices held of all alike being termed Bailiwick. Gradually the term 'Bailiff' became restricted in meaning and was reserved exclusively to denote the Capitular Bailiffs. The later Statutes of the Order, Title XIX, 6, state that: 'Under the name of Bailiff are comprehended the Conventual Bailiffs, the Capitular Bailiffs, the Priors and the Castellan of Amposta.' Eventually they were granted the privilege of wearing a much larger cross on their robes than their less important brethren, and so became known as Grand Crosses. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we find the term Bailiff being used as a regular title, as in the case of the famous Bailli de Suffren.

¹ See *Judgements and Customs*, Paras. 32, 62, 67, 70 and 71, pp. 158, 167, 168, 169.

² See *Judgements and Customs*, Para. 62, p. 167.

II

PAPAL BULL CONFIRMING THE FOUNDATION OF THE ORDER

Dated 15th February, 1113¹

PASCHAL the Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable son Gerard, founder and Provost (prepositus) of the Xenodocheum² of Jerusalem, and to his lawful successors forever.

A pious request and desire should meet with satisfaction and fulfilment. Forasmuch as of thine affection thou hast requested that the Xenodocheum, which thou hast founded in the City of Jerusalem, near to the Church of the Blessed John Baptist, should be supported by the Apostolic See, and fostered by the patronage of the Blessed Apostle Peter. We therefore, being much pleased with the piety and earnestness of thine hospital work (hospitalitas), do receive thy petition with paternal kindness, and we ordain by virtue of the present decree

¹ Gerard's Hospitallers, previously under the Benedictines of St. Maria Latina, had become an independent Order on the capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders in 1099, and Godfrey de Bouillon before his death on August 18th, 1100, granted to the Hospital the casale of Hessilia (Es Silsileh) and two bakehouses in Jerusalem. In 1110 King Baldwin I confirmed these and other gifts by royal charter, and in 1112 the Patriarch of Jerusalem exempted the Order from the payment of tithes; in the same year a further royal charter was granted, and then in 1113 came the papal confirmation of the foundation of the Order.

² Xenodocheum is the Greek word for the Hospice for Pilgrims, meaning literally, a building for the reception of strangers.

that that House of God the Xenodocheum shall always be under the guardianship of the Apostolic See, and the protection of Blessed Peter.

answers to
the Rule

All things therefore that have been acquired for the said Xenodocheum, by thy solicitude and perseverance, for the support of pilgrims, and for the needs of the poor, whether in the Church in Jerusalem, or in the parishes of churches in the territory of other cities, or have been presented by faithful men, no matter who, or may be presented in the future by the Grace of God, or may happen to be acquired by other lawful means, and whatsoever things have been granted, by our venerable brethren the Bishops of the Church in Jerusalem, either to thee or to thy successors and to the brethren there occupied in the care of the pilgrims, we decree shall be held forever in peace and undiminished.

Moreover we ordain that the Tithes of your produce, wheresoever collected at your charge and by your labour, shall be held and possessed by your Xenodocheum, notwithstanding the opposition of the Bishops and of the episcopal officers.

Money

The donations also, which pious Princes have made to the said Xenodocheum from taxes and other imposts, we decree shall be held confirmed.

And at thy death, who art now the overseer (provisor) and Provost of that place, no one shall be appointed there by subtlety or intrigue or violence, but only he whom the professed brethren there shall provide and elect in accordance with God's will.

elections
only brethren
can elect

Moreover all honours or possessions, which the said Xenodocheum at present holds either beyond or on this side the sea, that is to say in Asia or in Europe, or those which in the future by the bounty of God it shall obtain, we confirm them to thee and to thy successors, who shall be devoting themselves to hospital work with piety and earnestness, and through you to the said Xenodocheum forever.

property / land

To this we further decree that it shall be lawful for

Protection

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no man whatsoever rashly to disturb the said Xenodocheum, or to carry off its possessions, or to retain those carried off, or to lessen them, or to harass it with vexatious annoyances. But let all its possessions be preserved undiminished for the sole use and enjoyment of those for whose maintenance and support they have been granted.

Moreover we decree that the Xenodochea or Ptochea¹ in the western parts at Bourg St. Gilles, Asti, Pisa, Bari, Otranto, Tarento and Messina,² known by the name and style 'of Jerusalem', shall remain as they are today under thy rule and disposition and those of thy successors forever.

If therefore in the future any person, either ecclesiastic or secular, knowing this chapter of our ordinances should rashly attempt to contravene them, and if after a second or third warning he shall not make satisfactory and suitable amends, let him be deprived of his dignity, power and honour, and let him know he stands accused before the tribunal of God for the iniquity that he has perpetrated, and let him be kept from the most Sacred Body and Blood of our God and Redeemer our Lord Jesus Christ, and at the Last Judgement let him undergo the severest punishment. But upon all those dealing justly towards the said place may the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ rest, that here they may receive the reward of good conduct, and before the Universal Judge may enjoy the blessings of everlasting peace. Amen. Amen.

I Paschal Bishop of the Catholic Church have signed.

I Richard Bishop of Albano have signed.

I Landulf Archbishop of Benevento have read and signed.

¹ Ptocheum is a Greek word meaning a house for the reception of the poor.

² St. Gilles, Pisa and Messina afterwards became the seats of Grand Priors, Asti was in the Priory of Lombardy, and Bari, Otranto and Tarento in the Priory of Barletta.

of obedience
to the branches
of the Convent

- I Conan Bishop of the Church of Praeneste have read
and signed.
- I Anastasius Cardinal Priest of San Clemente have
signed.
- I Gregory Bishop of Terracina have read and signed.
- I John Bishop of Malta have read and signed.
- I Romoald Cardinal Deacon of the Church of Rome
have signed.
- I Gregory Cardinal Priest of San Crisogono have read
and signed.

Given at Benevento by the hand of John, Cardinal
of the Holy Roman Church and Librarian, on the 15th
day before the Calends of March, in the 6th Indiction,
in the year 1113 of the Incarnation of Our Lord, and in
the 14th year of the Pontificate of our Lord Pope Paschal
II. Fare ye well.

III

THE RULE OF BLESSED RAYMOND DU PUY
1120-60

THIS IS THE CONSTITUTION ORDAINED BY BROTHER RAYMOND.—In the name of God, I Raymond Servant of Christ's poor and Warden of the Hospital of Jerusalem, with the counsel of all the Chapter, both clerical and lay brethren, have established these commandments in the House of the Hospital of Jerusalem.

1. HOW THE BRETHREN SHOULD MAKE THEIR PROFESSION.—Firstly, I ordain that all the brethren, engaging in the service of the poor,¹ should keep the three things with the aid of God, which they have promised to God: that is to say, chastity and obedience, which means whatever thing is commanded them by their masters, and to live without property of their own: because God will require these three things of them at the Last Judgement.

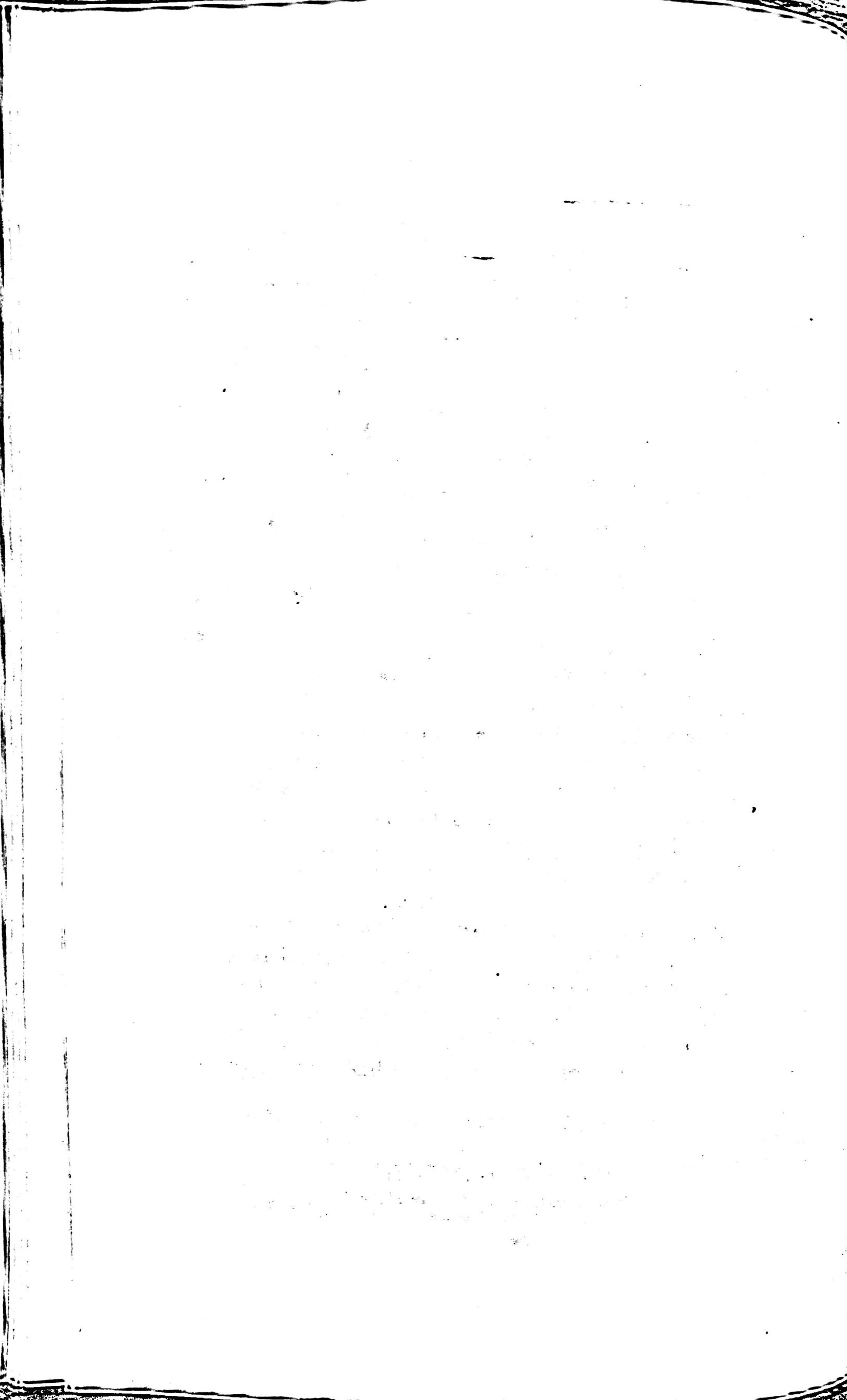
2. WHAT THE BRETHREN SHOULD CLAIM AS THEIR DUE.—
*IDEOLOGY
Lordship of poor*
And let them not claim more as their due than bread and water and raiment, which things are promised to them. And their clothing should be humble, because Our Lord's poor, whose servants we confess ourselves to be, go naked.² And it is a thing wrong and improper

NOTE | —¹ At some later date after the loss of Jerusalem, when the Order was completely militarized, the words 'and the defence of the Catholic faith' were added, possibly by the Master Alfonso of Portugal.

² The Latin version adds 'and miserably clad'.



THE CITY OF JERUSALEM
From Baudoin's 'Histoire de Malthe'



for the servant that he should be proud, and his Lord should be humble.

3. CONCERNING THE CONDUCT OF THE BRETHREN AND THE SERVICE OF THE CHURCHES AND THE RECEPTION OF THE SICK.—Moreover this is decreed that their conduct should be decorous in church, and that their conversation should be appropriate, that is to say, that the clerics, deacons and sub-deacons should serve the priest at the altar in white raiment, and if the thing shall be necessary another cleric should render this service, and there should be a light every day in the church, both by day and by night, and the priest should go in white raiment to visit the sick, bearing reverently the Body of Our Lord, and the deacon or the sub-deacon, or at least an acolyte should go before, bearing the lantern with a candle burning, and the sponge with the holy water.

4. HOW THE BRETHREN SHOULD GO ABROAD AND BEHAVE.—Moreover, when the brethren shall go to cities and castles, let them not go alone but two or three together, and they shall not go there with those whom they would, but with those whom their Master shall order, and when they shall be come there where they would go, let them remain together as united in their conduct as in their dress. And let nothing be done in all their movements which might offend the eyes of anyone, but only that which reveals their holiness. Moreover, when they shall be in a church or in a house or in any other place where there are women, let them keep guard over their modesty, and let no women wash their heads or their feet, or make their beds. May Our Lord, who dwelleth among his saints, keep guard over them in this matter.

5. BY WHOM AND HOW ALMS SHOULD BE SOUGHT.—Also let religious persons, both clerical and lay brethren, go forth to seek alms for the holy poor; also when they shall seek for a lodging (ostel), let them go to the church or to some suitable person, and let them ask of him their food for charity's sake, and let them buy nothing else. But if they should not find anyone who will give

them their necessaries, let them buy by measure one meal only, on which they should live.

*Properly
organized*

6. CONCERNING THE ALMS OBTAINED AND CONCERNING THE PRODUCE OF THE HOUSES.—Also let them take neither land nor security from the alms collected, but let them deliver them up to the Master with an account in writing, and let the Master deliver them up with his own account in writing to the poor in the Hospital; and let the Master receive from all the Obediences the third part of the bread and wine and of all food,¹ and that which shall be surplus should be added to the alms, and let him hand it over in Jerusalem to the poor with his own account in writing.

7. WHO AND IN WHAT MANNER THEY SHOULD GO ABROAD TO PREACH.—And let not any of the brethren, of whatsoever Obedience they may be, go to preach or to make collections, except only those whom the Chapter and the Master of the Church² shall send. And let those same brethren, who shall go to make collections, be received in whatsoever Obedience they shall come, and let them receive such food as the brethren have ordained among themselves, and let them demand no other thing. Also let them carry with them a light, and in whatsoever house they shall be lodged (herbergié), let them cause the light to burn before them.

8. CONCERNING THE CLOTHING AND FOOD OF THE BRETHREN.—Furthermore also we forbid the brethren to wear at any time brightly coloured cloth (dras ysambruns ne galembruns) or the furs of animals (pennes sauvages) or fustian.³ Also let them not eat more than

¹ The Obediences are the subordinate establishments, later always termed Priories or Commanderies: the third part of their produce seems to correspond to the later Responsion, which was normally one-third part of the net income. See Porter's *Knights of Malta*, Vol. II, p. 214.

² Who is meant by the Master of the Church is difficult to say; presumably it means the Prior of the Church.

³ Fustian is a kind of coarse twilled cotton fabric, including velveteen, corduroy, etc.

twice in the day, and let them eat no meat on Wednesdays or Saturdays, or from Septuagesima until Easter, except those who are sick or feeble ; and let them never lie down naked, but clothed in shirts of linen or wool, or in other similar garments.

9. CONCERNING BRETHREN GUILTY OF FORNICATION.—

But if any of the brethren, and may such a thing never happen, through sinful passion shall fall into fornication, if he shall sin in secret, let him do his penance in secret, and let him impose upon himself a suitable penance ; and if it shall be well known and proved absolutely for certain, then in that town in which he shall have committed the sin, on the Sunday after Mass, when the people shall have left the church, let him be severely beaten and flogged with hard rods (verges) or leathern thongs (corroies) in the sight of all by his Master¹ or by other brethren commanded by the Master, and let him be expelled out of all our company ; and afterwards if Our Lord shall enlighten the heart of that man, and he shall return to the House of the Poor, and shall confess himself to be guilty and a sinner and a transgressor against the law of God, and shall promise amendment, he should be received² and for a whole year should be treated as a stranger, and the brethren should observe during this period of time whether he be satisfactory, and afterwards let them do as shall seem good to them.

10. CONCERNING BRETHREN QUARRELLING AND STRIKING ONE ANOTHER.—Also if any brother dispute with another brother, and the Procurator of the House³ shall have heard the complaint, the penance should be as follows : he shall fast for seven days, the Wednesday

¹ The Latin version here adds : ' a cleric, if he shall be a cleric who shall have sinned, but if he shall be a lay brother, by a cleric or by him whom the cleric shall direct '.

² The Latin version here adds : ' and a suitable penance should be imposed upon him '.

³ The Procurator of the House is the Bailiff of the next generation, and is sometimes at this early period also termed Master.

Keep it on the
DL
public
knowledge

but can
still re-enter
Order

*mentioned
a day time*

and the Friday on bread and water, and he shall eat seated on the ground without table and without napkin (toaille). And if the brother shall strike another brother he shall fast for forty days. And if he shall depart from the House, or the Master under whose authority he shall be, wilfully and without the leave of his Master, and afterwards he shall return, he shall eat for forty days seated on the ground, and shall fast on Wednesdays and Fridays on bread and water¹; and for as long a time as he has been absent, let him be treated as a stranger, unless by chance the time should have been so long that the Chapter should think proper to modify it.

11. CONCERNING THE SILENCE OF THE BRETHREN.—Also at table, as the Apostle says,² let each one eat his bread in silence, and let him not drink after Compline.³ Also let the brethren keep silence in their beds.

12. CONCERNING BRETHREN MISBEHAVING.—And if any brother shall not conduct himself well, and shall be admonished and corrected by his Master or by other brethren twice or three times, and if, at the instigation of the Devil, he will not amend his ways nor obey, he should be sent to us on foot with a written report

¹ These penances of seven days and forty days, were always known later as the Septaine and the Quarantine, and although it is not mentioned in this paragraph the culprit was also flogged in church every Wednesday and Friday in the presence of the Convent. In Joinville's *Chronicle* there is an interesting account of the brethren under punishment eating their meals seated on their mantles on the ground. See Marzial's *Translation*, pp. 262, 263.

² The reference is to St. Paul, 2 Thessalonians iii. 12.

³ 'At seven o'clock in the winter, and eight in summer, the tolling of the bell called the community to Compline, the last conventional act of the monastic day. This Hour was not necessarily said in the choir of the church. Immediately the prayers were finished, the superior gave a signal, and the community rose and passed to the door of the church. Here either the superior, or the junior priest, who had said the prayers at Compline, was ready to sprinkle each with holy water as he passed in solemn silence to the dormitory. Before half-past seven in winter, and an hour later than this in summer, all would have been in bed.' Gasquet, *English Monastic Life*, p. 153.

of his sin ; and always a small allowance (procuration) should be given to him sufficient to enable him to come to us, and we will correct him ; and also no brother should strike the serjeants¹ subject to him for any fault or sin they may commit, but let the Master of the House and the brethren exact vengeance in the presence of all ; but always let the sentence (justice) of the House be maintained completely.

13. CONCERNING BRETHREN FOUND WITH PRIVATE PROPERTY.—And if any of the brethren have made a disposition of private property at his death,² and he shall have concealed it from his Master, and afterwards it shall be found upon him, let that money be tied round his neck, and let him be led naked through the Hospital of Jerusalem, or through the other houses where he dwells, and let him be beaten severely by another brother³ and do penance for forty days, and he shall fast on Wednesdays and Fridays on bread and water.

14. WHAT OFFICE SHOULD BE CELEBRATED FOR THE DECEASED BRETHREN.—Moreover we command that this statute should be made, which is most necessary for us all, and we ordain it in commanding that for all the brethren who die in your Obediences thirty Masses should be chanted for the soul of each⁴ ; and at the first Mass

¹ These are the Serjeants-at-Office, employed in the ordinary domestic duties of the Convent and Hospital. The later Statutes describe them simply as ' Servants of Office for common drudgery '. See Statutes of the Order, Title II, Para. 2. Serjeant is the term regularly used for servants in monastic offices.

² The French version has accidentally omitted at this point an important part of the Latin original, without which the meaning of this paragraph is not clear, and which reads : ' and whilst still living shall not reveal it to his Master, let no divine office be celebrated for him, but let him be buried as one excommunicated ; and if whilst still living he should have private property ', etc.

³ The Latin version here adds : ' A cleric by a cleric, and a layman by a layman '.

⁴ These thirty masses were known as the Trental, for which very full directions are given in the second part of the Statutes of Fr. Jobert.

each of the brethren, who shall be present, shall offer one candle with one Denier.¹ Which Deniers, as many as there shall be, should be given to the poor for God's sake ; and the priest who shall chant the Masses, if he be not of the House, should have provision in the Obedience on those days ; and on completion of the office, the Master should render charity to the said priest, and let all the garments of the deceased brother be given to the poor ; also let the brother priests, who shall sing the Masses, pray for his soul to Our Lord Jesus Christ, and let each of the clerics chant the psalter, and each of the lay brothers 150 pater-nosters. And also concerning all other sins and matters and complaints let them judge and decide in Chapter with righteous judgement.

15. HOW THE THINGS HERE DETAILED ARE TO BE FIRMLY MAINTAINED.—All these things, just as we have detailed them above, we command and ordain in the Name of Almighty God, and of the Blessed Mary, and of the Blessed St. John, and of the poor, that these same things should be kept with the utmost strictness.²

16. HOW OUR LORDS THE SICK SHOULD BE RECEIVED AND SERVED.—And in that Obedience in which the Master and the Chapter of the Hospital shall permit,³ when the sick man shall come there, let him be received thus, let him partake of the Holy Sacrament, first having confessed his sins to the priest, and afterwards let him

¹ Denier, generally translated penny ; the denier of Jerusalem was a small silver coin weighing 14 grains.

² This is obviously the termination of the original Rule of Raymond du Puy, which was confirmed by Pope Eugenius III between 1145-53 : whether the four subsequent clauses were added before the papal confirmation, or afterwards, is not certain, but probably afterwards since the Rule was again confirmed by Pope Lucius III between 1181-5 when he confirmed the new statutes of the Master Roger des Moulins. See *Chronicle of the Deceased Masters in King's Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land*, Appendix B.

³ To make this sentence intelligible, it is necessary to add the words : 'an hospital to exist'.

be carried to bed, and there as if he were a Lord, each day before the brethren go to eat, let him be refreshed with food charitably according to the ability of the House ; also on every Sunday let the Epistle and the Gospel be chanted in that House, and let the House be sprinkled with holy water at the procession. Also if any of the brethren, who hold Obediences in different lands, coming to any secular person offering allegiance and giving him the money of the poor, in order that those persons should cause the said brethren to prevail by force against the Master, let such brethren be cast out of all the company.

17. IN WHAT MANNER BRETHREN MAY CORRECT BRETHREN.—Also if two or more brethren shall be together, and one of them shall conduct himself outrageously by evil living, the other of the brethren should not denounce him to the people nor to the Prior, but first let him chastise him by himself, and if he would not be chastised, let him join with himself two or three brethren to chastise him. And if he should amend his ways, they should rejoice at it ; but if he be not willing to amend his ways, then let him write down the guilt of the brother, and let him send it to the Master privately, and according as the Master and the Chapter shall order let it be done concerning him.

18. HOW ONE BROTHER SHOULD ACCUSE ANOTHER BROTHER.—Let no brother accuse another brother unless he be well able to prove it ; and if he shall accuse him and be unable to prove it, he is no true brother.¹

19. THAT THE BRETHREN BEAR ON THEIR BREASTS THE SIGN OF THE CROSS.—Also let all the brethren of all the Obediences, who now and henceforward shall offer themselves to God and to the Holy Hospital of Jerusalem, bear on their breasts the cross, on their cassocks (chapes)

¹ The clause is incomplete, and the Latin version adds : ‘and let him undergo the same penance, as the accused would have undergone, had he been able to prove it’. This was always the penalty for bringing accusations that could not be proved.

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and on their mantles, to the honour of God and of the Holy Cross, that God by that banner (gonfanon), and through faith and works and obedience, may guard and defend us in soul and in body, with all our Christian benefactors from the power of the Devil in this world and the next. Amen.

IV

STATUTES OF FR. JOBERT

1172-7

A. *Chapter-General of 1176*

B. *Chapter-General of 1177*

A. THE CHAPTER-GENERAL OF 1176

THE PRIVILEGE OF THE SICK TO HAVE WHITE BREAD.— In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. Let all men know of those who are, and those who in the future shall be sons of Holy Mother Church, that I Jobert, Master of the Hospital of Jerusalem,¹ with the good will and unanimous consent of all our brethren assembled in our Common Chapter,² before the presence and witness of the passion and resurrection of Our Lord, have given and granted in permanent possession to our blessed lords, that is to say to the poor of the Xenodocheum³ of the Hospital of Jerusalem, and to Brother Stephen the Hospitaller at the present time, and to their successors who shall come after them perpetually for all time, two casales,⁴ that is to say the casales of St.

¹ The Latin version reads: ‘humble Master of the Holy House of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem’.

² The Latin version has Chapter-General, which is also spoken of as the Common Chapter in Para. 12 of the Statutes of 1262, p. 57.

³ The Latin version simply reads: ‘to our Lords the sick in Jerusalem’.

⁴ A Casale was a hamlet of at least 100 houses, taxed at about 7s. a year, according to Conder’s *Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 240.

Mary¹ and Caphaer,² with all their possessions and appurtenances within and without, for the provision of white bread which should be given to them forever; and if by chance it should happen that the corn should fail in the casales or be insufficient to provide for the needs of the poor, enough should be taken from the Treasury to purchase white bread and to provide sufficient for the poor; and if it should happen that the wheat from the casales should be mixed with evil herbs, good wheat should be taken measure for measure from the granary of the Hospital, and so sufficient should be provided for our lords the poor. And in order that this gift may be established and unaltered forever, we have caused this charter to be sealed with our seal; and if anyone from henceforward would go contrary to this holy commandment, or would distort it, may he be damned with Judas the traitor in everlasting damnation, with Cain and Dathan and Abiron, whom the earth swallowed up, may he be cursed with this curse. Amen.

Each loaf should be of the weight of two marks,³ and should be given to two poor persons.

This decree was made in the year of the Incarnation of Our Lord 1176.⁴

B. THE CHAPTER - GENERAL OF 1177⁵

THE CUSTOMS OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOSPITAL OF JERUSALEM.—In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. These are the

¹ St. Mary's was close by Belfort (Shakif Arnon), north-west of Banyas: it was sold to the Master Gilbert d'Assailly for 3,000 besants by Baldwin de Mirabel in 1167.

² Caphaer is the modern Kefireh, between Jerusalem and Jaffa; it was sold to the Master Jobert by Baldwin of Ramla in 1175.

³ The mark was originally a measure of weight for gold and silver only, and was common throughout Western Europe, being the equivalent of eight ounces. The variations, however, throughout the Middle Ages were considerable.

⁴ The Latin version says in the year 1177.

⁵ The date is uncertain, it comes after the previous decree, and there may have been only the one Chapter-General.

customs which should be kept and observed in the House of the Hospital of Jerusalem.

1. The first morning Mass¹ should not be begun before it is day, nor should the Commander² of any house order the priest to chant mass. And no priest should chant mass twice in the day, unless by chance the body of any dead person be there, and then in this manner, first should be chanted the mass for the day, if it be a Sunday or a day of festival, and afterwards should be chanted that for the dead, if a body be present there. And everywhere where a deceased (brother) of the hospital shall be buried, the day of his death should be written in the calendar. And for thirty days masses should be chanted for his soul. And when the Trental³ shall be completed, the day of the anniversary should always be celebrated for his soul, and when the church where the Trental shall be celebrated has three priests, one should celebrate the Trental, and the other two chant the masses which belong to the day. And if two priests only be there where the Trental should be celebrated, the service should be shared between them, and the gratuity. And when there shall be there no more than one priest, they shall obtain another a stranger to celebrate the service of the Trental.

2. And when it shall be celebrated, one besant⁴ and

¹ The first morning Mass was chanted immediately after the Hour of Prime, which was not earlier than six o'clock or later than seven in medieval monasteries.

² The French version has Commander, and the Latin version Preceptor, which is its regular equivalent in Latin.

³ The Trental is the regular name for the thirty Masses celebrated for the repose of the soul of a deceased person : its celebration is ordered by the Rule of Raymond du Puy, Para. 14, p. 25.

⁴ The besant was a gold coin struck by the Latin Kings of Jerusalem in imitation of the Saracen dinars ; it weighed nearly 54 grains, and was worth about 7*s.* 6*d.* ; the Egyptian dinar was considerably heavier and was worth about 11*s.* 6*d.* See Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin*, Supplement, p. 10. It must not be confused with the White Besant of Cyprus of which three and a half went to the Saracen besant.

a new shirt and breeches, according to the custom of the house, should be given to him. And if it be impossible to find a stranger priest, and the priest of the house be without the company of another priest, the Trental should be celebrated in this manner, that is to say that every day he should chant for the dead except on Sundays and days of solemn festival ; and then afterwards he should make the commemoration and remembrance for the brother that is departed. But when the thirty days shall be passed, and after the number of days on which commemoration should be made only for the soul of the brother shall be fulfilled by the Trental, then there should be given to the priest the charity aforesaid. And if by chance these things should happen in Lent in houses where there shall be no more than one priest, let it be postponed until after Easter, and then let celebration be made for the soul of the brother without any delay.

3. And let the brethren always take care to have a light in the church, and let the chalice for administration be of silver, and the censer of silver.

4. And it is commanded that the bodies of pilgrims or of other Christians, who shall die after the Hour of Vespers,¹ should be left entirely until the next day ; and in the Hospital, where they shall have died, let them not lie upon their biers without a light. And the next day before Prime they should be carried to the church, and after Mass should be buried ; the biers of the dead should be like those that are in Jerusalem.

5. The bodies of the brethren should be watched in the church, and the clerics should be around them chanting their psalms, and the tapers should be lighted. Of the charity that is given to the priests for the Trental the house should retain nothing ; but for the Trentals of strangers the brethren should retain the half.

6. For the public and private masses the priests

¹ The Hour of Vespers was at five o'clock in winter, and at six in summer.

should have nothing for themselves, except so much as the brethren should wish to give them of their own free will.

7. Of the payments from confessions the sixth part should be given to the priests and the clerics, not by contract but of grace ; but in casales where there shall be no burgesses, and no one except one priest, the arrangements aforesaid shall be at the discretion of the Commander of the house, and the gratuity of the clerics he shall give as shall seem good to him.

8. Of the wills and legacies, which shall be made to vicars up to one besant, the half should be given to them ; but the legacies and wills, which shall be left to the Hospital, when they shall be paid over, the brethren should receive them without deduction.

V

STATUTES OF FR. ROGER DES MOULINS

1177-87

THE CHAPTER-GENERAL OF 1181

THAT THE CHURCHES SHOULD BE REGULATED WITH
THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE PRIOR.¹

In the name of the Father and of the Son and
of the Holy Ghost. Amen. In the year of the Incar-
nation of Our Lord 1181 in the month of March, on
the Sunday on which they chant 'Letare Jerusalem'
(i.e. March 22nd), I Roger, servant of Christ's poor,
in the presence of the clerical and lay brethren seated
around in Chapter-General, to the honour of God and
the glory of our Religion, and the support and benefit
of the sick poor.

1. It is commanded that the statutes of the church
aforesaid ² and the benefits for the poor afterwards
written should be kept and observed forever, without
going contrary to them in any respect. Concerning
the churches it is commanded that they should be
arranged and regulated at the disposition of the Prior
of the clerics of the Hospital ³ with regard to books

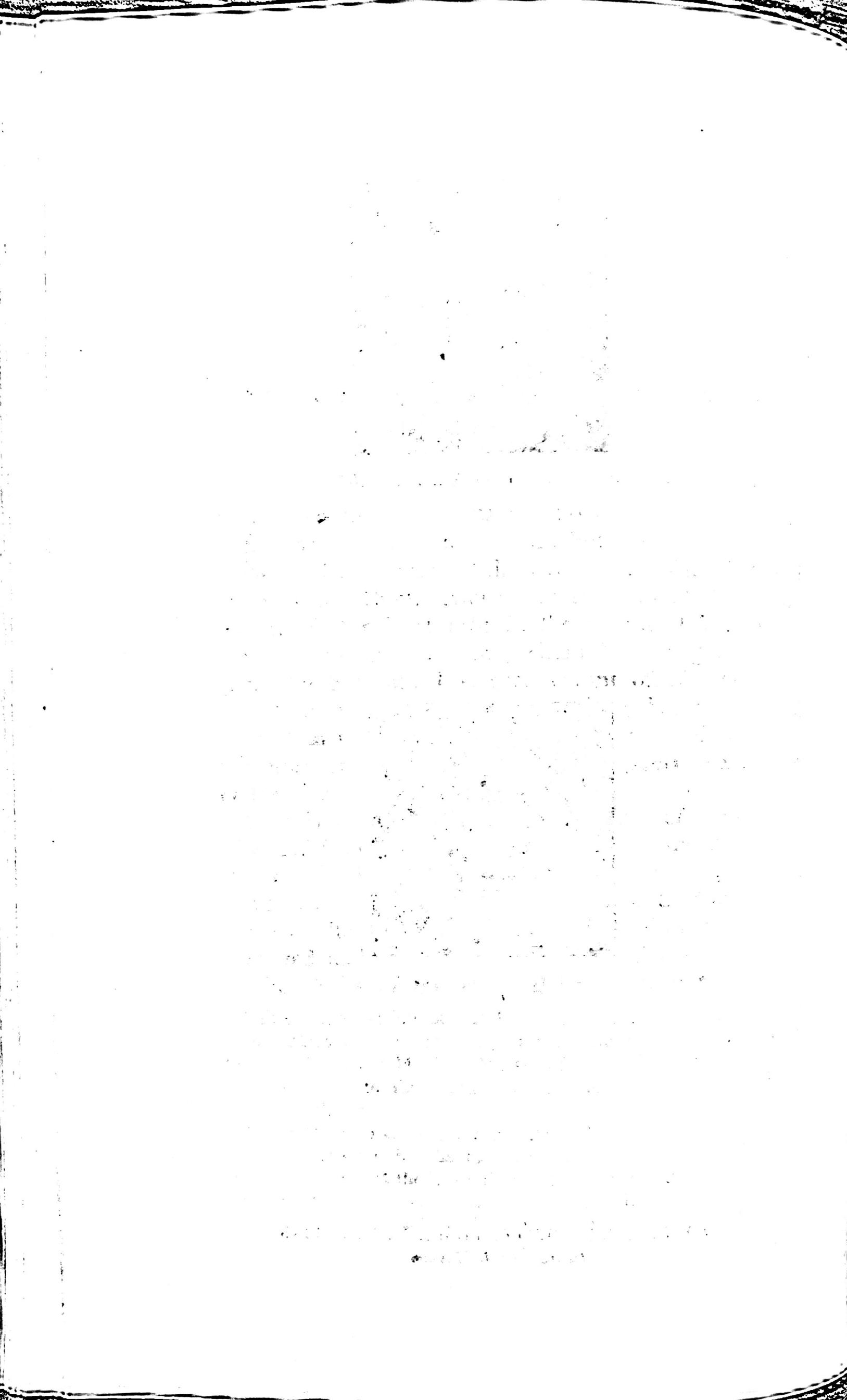
¹ The Latin version of this heading reads: 'Here follows the confirmation of the foregoing, and certain statutes ordained by Brother Roger des Moulins, Master of the Holy House.'

² This refers to the Statutes of the Master Jobert, which are hereby confirmed.

³ This refers to the Conventional Prior, better known later as the Prior of the Church: he took precedence immediately after the Master, and was at the head of the Chaplains of the Order, exercising over them the same powers as a Bishop, but was not reckoned as one of the five Bailiffs of the Convent.



LEADEN BULLA OF FR. ROGER DES MOULINS
In the British Museum



clerics vestments priests chalices censers perpetual light and other ornaments.

2. And secondly, it is decreed with the assent of the brethren that for the sick in the Hospital of Jerusalem there should be engaged four wise doctors, who are qualified to examine urine, and to diagnose different diseases, and are able to administer appropriate medicines.

3. And thirdly, it is added that the beds of the sick should be made as long and as broad as is most convenient for repose, and that each bed should be covered with its own coverlet (*covertour*), and each bed should have its own special sheets.

4. After these needs is decreed the fourth command, that each of the sick should have a cloak of sheepskin (*pelice à vestir*), and boots for going to and coming from the latrines,¹ and caps of wool.

5. It is also decreed that little cradles should be made for the babies of women pilgrims born in the House, so that they may lie separate, and that the baby in its own bed may be in no danger from the restlessness of its mother.

6. Afterwards is decreed the sixth clause, that the biers of the dead should be concealed in the same manner as are the biers of the brethren, and should be covered with a red coverlet having a white cross.²

7. The seventh clause commands that wheresoever there are hospitals for the sick, that the Commanders of the houses should serve the sick cheerfully, and should do their duty by them, and serve them without grumbling or complaining, so that by these good deeds they may deserve to have their reward in the glories of heaven. And if any of the brethren should act con-

¹ The French version has ‘à lor besoigne’, and the Latin version ‘ad cameras secretas’.

² These colours ‘gules, a cross argent’, became the armorial bearings of the Hospitallers, and were borne upon their Standard, and after 1259 upon their surcoats, see p. 81.

trary to the commands of the Master in these matters, that it should be brought to the notice of the Master, who shall punish them according as the sentence (justice) of the House commands.

8. It was also decreed, when the council (i.e. Chapter-General) of the brethren was held, that the Prior of the Hospital of France¹ should send each year to Jerusalem one hundred sheets of dyed cotton² to replace the coverlets of the sick poor, and should reckon them in his Respcion³ together with those things which shall be given in his Priory to the House in charity.

In self-same manner and reckoning the Prior of the Hospital of St. Gilles⁴ should purchase each year the like number of sheets of cotton⁵ and send them to Jerusalem, together with those things which shall be given in his Priory for the love of God to the poor of the Hospital.

The Prior of Italy⁶ each year should send to Jerusalem for our lords the sick two thousand ells of fustian

¹ The Priory of France was carved out of the territories administered by the Prior of St. Gilles about 1179. See Delaville Le Roux, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte*, p. 365.

² The French version has 'dras de coton tainz', the Latin version simply 'costonios'.

³ Respcion is the name given to that portion of the annual revenue of the estates of the Order transmitted by the Priors to the common Treasury, and normally reckoned at one-third of the net income. See the Rule of Raymond du Puy, Para. 6 and footnote.

⁴ The first establishments of the Order in Europe were formed at St. Gilles and Messina, which were the chief ports of embarkation for the pilgrims to the Holy Land. A certain Prior Pons was Prior of St. Gilles as early as 1120.

⁵ The French version has as before 'dras de coton', the Latin version here has 'cotas'.

⁶ The Prior of Italy administered the territories of northern Italy exclusive of the republics of Pisa and Venice; the Priory was shortly after divided into the two Priories of Rome and Lombardy. We here have the earliest mention of the Priories of Pisa and Venice, a mention which appears to have escaped the notice of Delaville Le Roux. See *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte*, pp. 375, 376.

of divers colours, which he may reckon each year in his Responsion.

And the Prior of Pisa should send likewise the like number of fustians.

And the Prior of Venice likewise, and all should be reckoned in their Responsions.

9. And likewise the Bailiffs this side the sea¹ should be particular in this same service.

Of whom the Bailiff of Antioch should send to Jerusalem two thousand ells of cotton cloth² for the coverlets of the sick.

The Prior of Mont Pelerin (i.e. Tripolis) should send to Jerusalem two quintals³ of sugar for the syrups, and the medicines and the electuaries⁴ of the sick.

For this same service the Bailiff of Tabarie (i.e. Tiberias) should send there the same quantity.

The Prior of Constantinople⁵ should send for the sick two hundred felts.

10. Moreover guarding and watching them day and night, the brethren of the Hospital should serve the sick poor with zeal and devotion as if they were their lords, and it was added in Chapter-General that in every ward (rue) and place in the Hospital, nine serjeants should be kept at their service, who should

¹ The Latin version has 'baylivi omnes partium ultramontane', which must mean the Bailiffs outside the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

² The French version has 'toile de coton', the Latin version 'bombacis ad opera'.

³ A quintal is a hundredweight.

⁴ Electuary, a composition of medicinal powders with honey or sugar.

⁵ It is curious that the Prior of Constantinople should be included amongst the Bailiffs this side the sea, we should expect him to be among the Bailiffs d'outremer: he had under him the famous Hospital of St. Samson and the Hospital of St. John the Almoner, granted to the Hospitallers by the Emperor Manuel: in 1183 the Greek mob sacked the Hospitals, massacring the sick and the brethren of the Order indiscriminately. The Priory of Constantinople is not mentioned in Statute 1 of 1294 and had no doubt by then ceased to exist, see pp. 97, 100.

wash their feet gently, and change their sheets, and make their beds, and administer to the weak necessary and strengthening food, and do their duty devotedly, and obey in all things for the benefit of the sick.

THE CONFIRMATION BY THE MASTER ROGER OF THE THINGS THAT THE HOUSE SHOULD DO.¹

Let all the brethren of the House of the Hospital, both those present and those to come, know that the good customs of the House of the Hospital of Jerusalem are as follows :

1. Firstly the Holy House of the Hospital is accustomed to receive sick men and women, and is accustomed to keep doctors who have the care of the sick, and who make the syrups for the sick, and who provide the things that are necessary for the sick. For three days in the week the sick are accustomed to have fresh meat, either pork or mutton, and those who are unable to eat it have chicken.

2. And two sick persons are accustomed to have one cloak of sheepskin (*pelice de brebis*), which they use when going to the latrines (*chambres*), and between two sick persons one pair of boots. Every year the House of the Hospital is accustomed to give to the poor one thousand cloaks of thick lamb skins.²

3. And all the children abandoned by their fathers and mothers the Hospital is accustomed to receive and to nourish. To a man and woman who desire to enter into matrimony, and who possess nothing with which to celebrate their marriage, the House of the Hospital is accustomed to give two bowls (*escueles*) or the rations of two brethren.

¹ The Latin version reads : 'Concerning the confirmation made by Brother Roger des Moulins, the said Master, detailing the things which must be observed by the same House, here follows the second part.'

² We know from the description of John of Wurzburg in 1160 that there were 2,000 beds in the Hospital, therefore 1,000 sheepskins would be necessary. See King's *Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land*, p. 67.

4. And the House of the Hospital is accustomed to keep one brother shoemaker (corvoisier) and three serjeants, who repair the old shoes (soliers) given for the love of God. And the Almoner¹ is accustomed to keep two serjeants who repair the old robes that he may give them to the poor.

5. And the Almoner is accustomed to give twelve deniers to each prisoner, when he is first released from prison.

6. Every night five clerics are accustomed to read the psalter for the benefactors of the House.

7. And every day thirty poor persons are accustomed to be fed at table once a day for the love of God, and the five clerics aforesaid may be among those thirty poor persons, but the twenty-five eat before the Convent, and each of the five clerics should have two deniers and eat with the Convent.

8. And on three days in the week they are accustomed to give in alms to all who come there to ask for it, bread and wine and cooked food.

9. In Lent every Saturday, they are accustomed to celebrate maundy² for thirteen poor persons, and to wash their feet, and to give to each a shirt and new breeches and new shoes, and to three chaplains, or to three clerics out of the thirteen, three deniers and to each of the others, two deniers.

10. These are the special charities decreed in the Hospital, apart from the Brethren-at-Arms³ whom the House should maintain honourably, and many other charities there are which cannot be set out in detail

¹ The office of Almoner in later times was always held by one of the Conventional Chaplains, who belonged to the Master's household. See L'Héritte, *Les Chevaliers de Malthe*, p. 57.

² Maundy is the religious ceremony of washing the feet of the poor, in commemoration of Our Lord washing the feet of the disciples at the Last Supper, after which certain charitable gifts were made.

³ This is the earliest specific mention of a separate class of military brethren.

40 THE STATUTES OF THE HOSPITALLERS

each one by itself. And that these things be true good men and loyal here bear witness, that is to say Brother Roger, Master of the Hospital, and Brother Bernard the Prior¹ and all the Chapter-General.

¹ Brother Bernard was appointed Conventual Prior some time before 1175.

*1st milit
X of*

VI

STATUTES OF FR. ALFONSO OF PORTUGAL

(Commonly known as the *Statutes of Margat*)

1203-6

THE CHAPTER-GENERAL OF 1206

THIS IS A MEMORANDUM OF THE CUSTOMS OF THE HOSPITAL RECORDED AT MARGAT IN CHAPTER-GENERAL BY BROTHER ALFONSO OF PORTUGAL, MASTER OF THE SAID HOUSE, OF WHICH THE FIRST PART IS ACKNOWLEDGED TO BE AS FOLLOWS.¹

i. Let it be known to all those who shall see this present writing, both in the present and in the future, that assembled at Margat in Chapter-General all these customs before written, and those that are written hereafter, were recorded before all in the presence of Brother Alfonso of Portugal, by the Grace of God Master of the Holy House of the Hospital of Jerusalem. And when they were known, by the witness of ancient and wise brethren, to have existed of old time, it was decreed by the Master and confirmed by the Chapter-General that

¹ These introductory words appear in the Latin version only, since they speak of these Statutes as being the first part of the Statutes of Fr. Alfonso, they may have been passed at an earlier Chapter-General than that of 1206, which was the last held by this Master. If there was a second part of his Statutes, they can only be those rejected in 1206, which brought about his resignation, unless the second part is to be found in the earlier clauses of the *Judgements and Customs of the Hospital*, for which see Part II of this work.

they should be kept and observed according to the ability of the House¹ without question.

And it was said that the customs of the church should be maintained, just as is written above,² that the privilege of the sick should be maintained : that the other services concerning the sick should be maintained, that is to say concerning cloaks (pelices), boots, caps, the maintenance of children, the pittance³ of wine when the brethren should have it at double festivals, that they should be maintained just as is written above.

The brother, when he shall begin to be sick, for three days should have what he needs in his chamber or in his bed, and from the third day onwards he should be in the Infirmary, whether he be a Bailiff or otherwise.

The table for the sick brethren should be apart from that of the Convent, near to the Infirmary and near to the Minster, according to the ability of the House.

The sick brethren, so long as they 'shall be in the Infirmary, should have whatsoever they need that can be provided, according to the ability of the House.

Those who shall be at the table should have two meat dishes, if they can be provided, or the one meat dish prepared in two ways.

The food of the table of the sick should be in common : the bread should be in common with that of the Convent : the wine of the Convent, if it be not good enough to strengthen the sick brethren, should be improved upon.

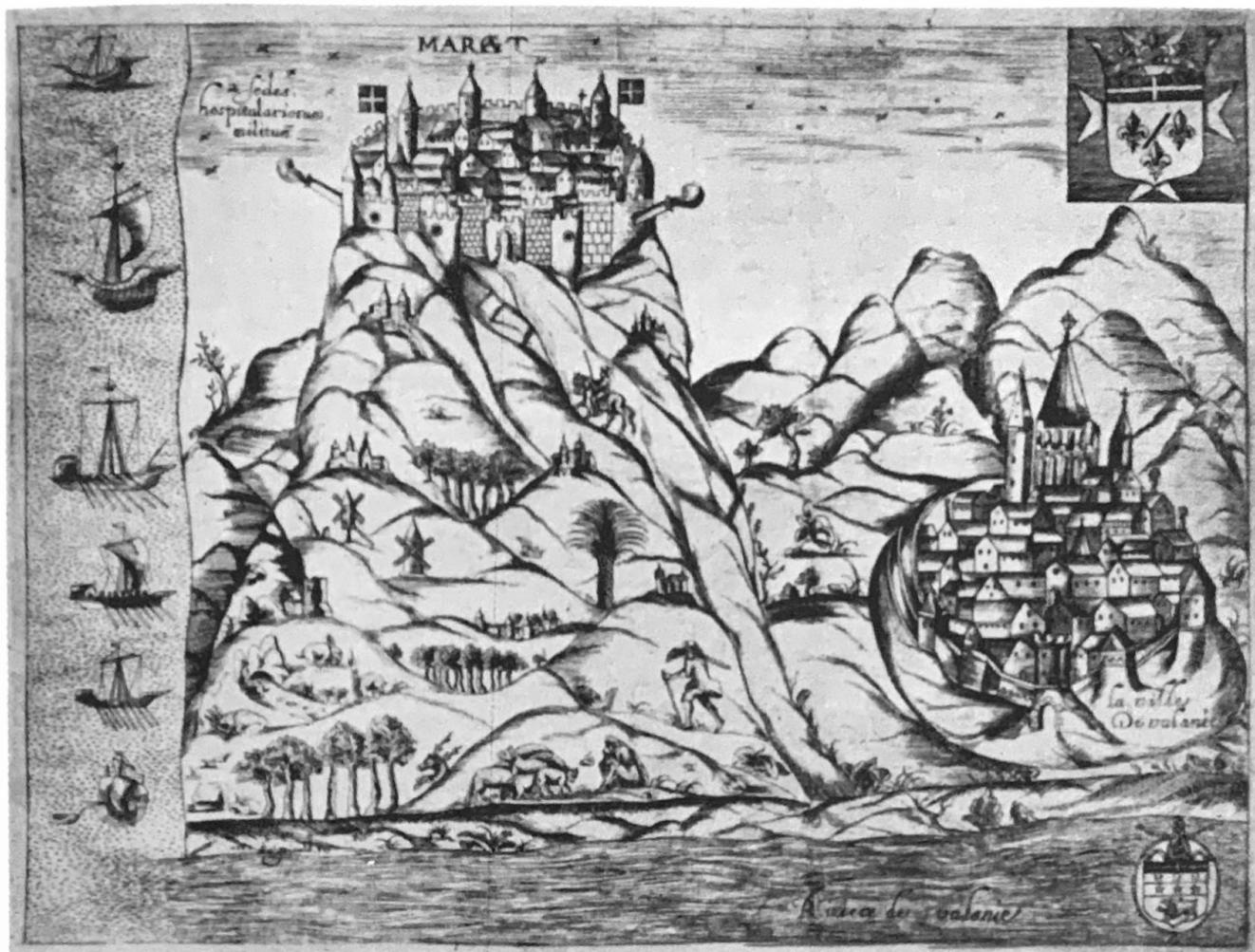
The brethren of the Hospital are bound to obey the Master humbly for Christ's sake.

The Master, when he shall be elected, should promise in Chapter that he will maintain the good customs of

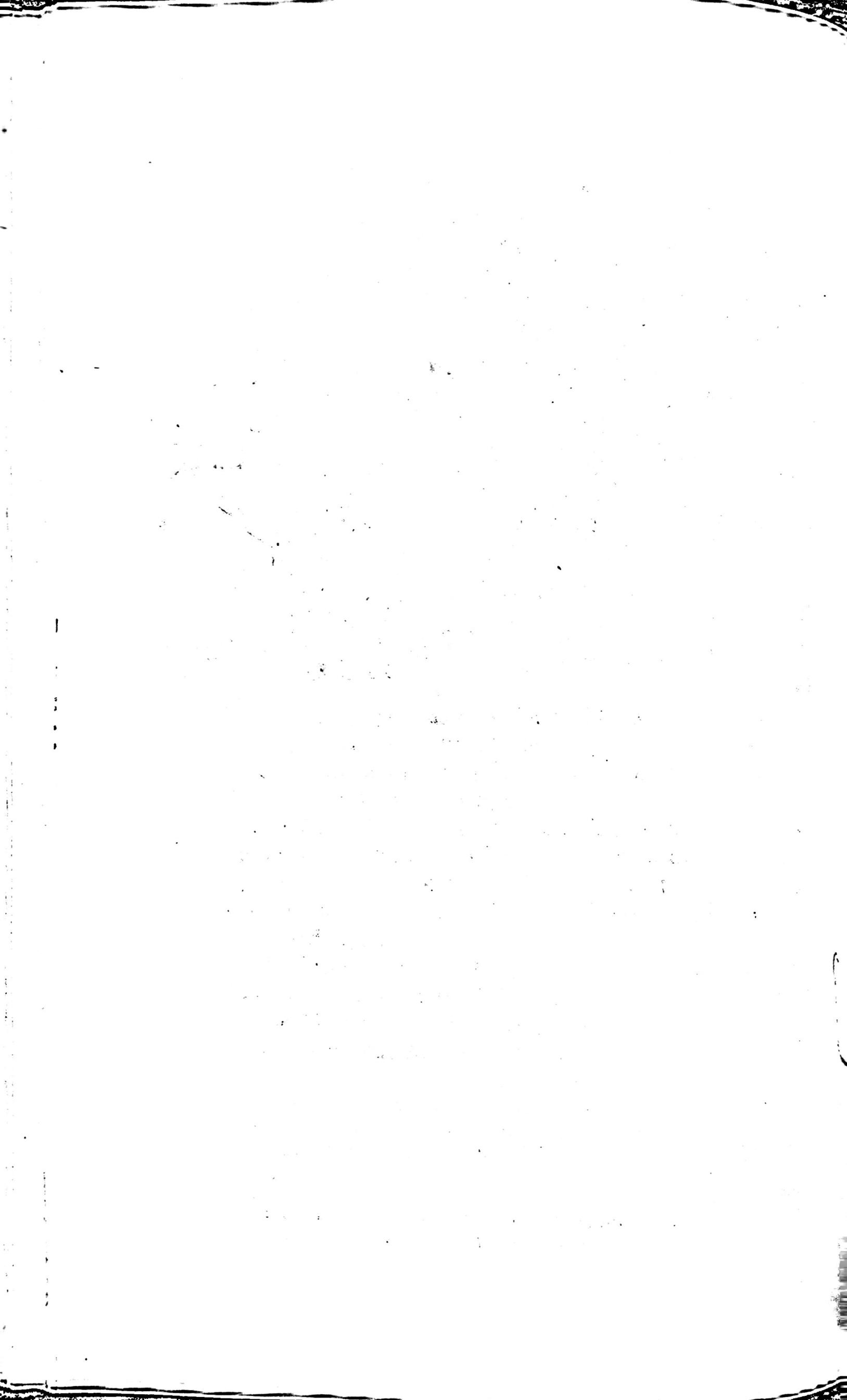
¹ Where the French version has simply 'the House', the Latin version generally has 'Holy House of the Hospital'.

² This refers to the Statutes of Fr. Jobert, and Fr. Roger des Moulins.

³ A pittance is an additional allowance of food, wine, clothing, etc., issued on special occasions, or for some particular reason.



THE CASTLE OF MARGAT WITH THE TOWN OF VALÉNIE (BALANYAS)
From Baudoin's 'Histoire de Malthe'



the House and the Statutes, and that he will direct the business of the House with the advice of the brethren ; and likewise that he will keep those things which shall be ordained by the brethren in Chapter-General, and will insist firmly that they shall be kept by all.

And if any Bailiff, appointed by Chapter-General (i.e. Capitular Bailiff), should come under sentence (justice), for which he loses his bailiwick, with the advice of the brethren the Master may confer the bailiwick up to the next Chapter-General on that same brother or may entrust the bailiwick to another brother.

2. IN WHAT MANNER THE CHAPTER-GENERAL SHOULD BE ASSEMBLED.—The Chapter-General shall be assembled in this manner : the Master, the Convent and the Bailiffs¹ should be assembled, if it be possible, and should be at the Chapter. And if the Convent cannot come to the Chapter, and the Master should be with the Convent, with the knowledge and advice of the Convent and of the brethren whom he shall have with him, he may bring with him to the Chapter as many and such brethren as the Convent shall approve, taken in common from any nation or country, who shall appear to be the most wise and most discreet. And if the Master should be away and unable to come to the Convent, he should send to the Marshal and to the Convent and to the Bailiffs where the Convent is, that they should take counsel together and bring with them to the Chapter such brethren of the Convent in general, as has been above written.

3. CONCERNING THE THINGS THAT SHOULD BE DONE AT THE CHAPTER.—When the Chapter shall be assembled, the ‘Veni Creator’ should be chanted, and the Gospel

¹ The phrase ‘Master and Convent’ always means the Master and the five Bailiffs of the Convent, and not the Convent in general : the Capitular Bailiffs are those high officials appointed by Chapter-General, who alone had seats upon it ; they are frequently called Capitular Bailiffs, to distinguish them from the mass of lesser Bailiffs generally known as Commanders, appointed by the Priors and other subordinate officials.

should be reverently read, and the sermon should be preached, the bailiwicks should be surrendered, and the Rule should be read. Then each Bailiff should give an account of the state of his bailiwick and of the House. Having heard the state of the bailiwicks, these and the other good customs of the Hospital should be recited by ancient and religious brethren : and when these shall have finished, the complaints, if there be any, should be heard and should be corrected by Esgart des Frères.¹ Afterwards the Master should nominate certain of the brethren in common,² who shall be obviously the most wise and most respected, to advise the Bailiffs.³ And the Master should say to the brethren, ‘ If there be any brother among you by whom you consider the Bailiffs might be well advised, inform me of him. And if there be anyone in Chapter of whose advice you have need, I will send him to you.’ And if by chance the Master does not say this the brethren should request it of him, and the Master should grant the request without hesitation. And when the brethren shall have taken counsel concerning the bailiwick or the business of which they are considering, each should say what shall seem to him best ; and after the opinion of each, before they make their decision, they should send to seek the Master and to hear his advice ; and when they shall have heard him the Master should depart, and the brethren

¹ The Esgart des Frères, or judgement of the brethren, to which any brother could appeal, if he considered that he had not received justice : out of this system the elaborate Court of Egard of later times was evolved.

² The Latin version here adds ‘ from different parts and in common from all Tongues ’, the earliest example in the Statutes of the use of the familiar term Langue or Tongue for the nations into which the Order was divided ; possibly at this early date there were still only the four original Tongues, French, Spanish, Italian and German.

³ Here we see the origin of that Committee of Sixteen, the General Purposes Committee of the Chapter-General, to which at a later date it referred all detailed business for discussion and decision. This is perhaps the Esgart of the Chapter-General, mentioned in the following paragraph.

should do what shall seem to them best, either following the opinion of the Master or their own. Nevertheless that which the greater part of the brethren shall have advised or commanded, should be rigidly maintained.

4. CONCERNING THE BRETHREN WHO SHOULD GO BEYOND THE SEA OR RETURN.—If the Master or any of the Bailiffs should lodge a complaint against any brother, he should go before the Esgart. The Bailiffs and other brethren who are sent beyond the sea should be sent by the Esgart of the Chapter-General. And the Bailiffs and the brethren who are sent from beyond the sea should be summoned by the Esgart of the Chapter-General. And if it should be necessary after the Chapter that any brethren should be sent beyond the sea, the Master should send them with the advice of the brethren who are of the same nation as the brother to be sent.¹

5. WHAT THE MASTER SHOULD DO WHEN HE IS SICK UNTO DEATH.²—When the Master of the Hospital shall be sick unto death, he should summon one of the brethren who shall be about him, the most loyal and the most respected that he shall know, and he should entrust to him his seal ; and the brother who shall have the seal, when the Master shall be departed this life, as soon as he can should go to the Convent and hand over the seal.

Then it shall be at the discretion of the Convent to keep the seal, and to manage the things and the business of the House until the Chapter-General. And to the Chapter-General should be summoned all the brethren this side the sea, that is to say the Bailiffs and of the others the most wise and most discreet ; but first of all proper provision should be made for the administration of the houses.

6. WHAT SHOULD BE DONE AFTER THE SEAL HAS BEEN DELIVERED UP TO THE CHAPTER.—When the Chapter-

¹ Here we see the beginning of the later system under which the Assembly of each Tongue in the Convent arranged its own internal affairs, subject to the approval of the Master and Council.

² This Statute and the following are not given in the Latin version.

General shall be assembled, the seal should be set in the midst before all ; and then they should all appoint a Commander¹ to conduct the business of the Chapter until the Master be elected.

The brethren should conjure him whom they shall have appointed Commander that he conduct himself loyally in the election of the Master.

7. HOW THE COMMANDER WITH THE ADVICE OF THE CHAPTER SHOULD PROCEED IN THE ELECTION OF THE MASTER.—The Commander with the advice of the Chapter should elect one brother, that is to say a brother priest, another brother knight, and one brother serjeant² and he should conjure them to the best of his ability, loyally and without trickery to elect the fourth, the best and the most loyal that they shall know for the election of the Master ; and he should likewise be conjured before them all, and then should be directed to join the three ; and these four should elect the fifth, who should be directed to join the others. And so in like manner it should be done until there are the Thirteen.

And these thirteen, in this manner elected, should come before the Commander and the whole Chapter, who should conjure all of them together and command them and enjoin upon them, on peril of their souls, that without trickery and without caprice, and putting behind them all favour and fear, hatred and affection, they shall loyally elect as Master from the brethren who shall be this side the sea or beyond, the best and the most to the benefit of the poor and the House of the Hospital that they shall know, and whom they shall likewise know to be most to the benefit and advantage

¹ Later known as the President of the Election.

² Later known as the Triumvirate : it is interesting to notice that the priest is still taking precedence over the Knight : the Serjeant was of course a Serjeant-at-Arms, the Serjeants-at-Office being merely servants. About 20 per cent of the military brethren were Serjeants-at-Arms, they differed from the Knights only in lacking the necessary qualification of noble birth, and are well described by the Abbé Vertot as Demi-chevaliers.

of all Christendom. And when they shall be thus conjured, they should promise that they will do loyally and devoutly that which is enjoined them.

The Commander and the Chapter should make a declaration to uphold and maintain that which the Thirteen, or the greater part of them, shall do in the election of the Master. And him whom they shall elect, they shall receive as Master without question.

The speeches and the disputes and the enquiries which shall have been made at the election of the Master should be secret, and should be forbidden to be revealed on peril of their souls.

8. CONCERNING THE REGULATION OF THE FOOD AND EQUIPMENT THAT EACH SHOULD RIGHTLY HAVE.—The table of the Convent should be held in common in this manner: all the brethren, both Bailiffs and others, should come to the table of the Convent. No brother in good health, whether Bailiff or otherwise, should eat in his chamber, without permission to do so. The food of the Convent should be in common, and the drink likewise. Neither Bailiff nor any other should have better food nor different than the others at the table of the Convent, neither before nor after, unless all the Convent can have it. And if any brother, seated at table, cannot eat the food of the Convent, if he ask for other food, he can have the food of the serjeants (i.e. the serjeants-at-office).

The food and the drink should be sufficiently good, according to the ability of the House, so that the brethren can and should tolerate and endure it.

9. WHEN AND HOW THE BRETHREN CAN BE BLED, AND THE QUANTITY OF EQUIPMENT THEY SHOULD HAVE.¹—Every Saturday the brethren may have permission to be bled, if it be necessary, and for three meals may have a pittance. The brethren should have three shirts and three pairs of breeches, and one coat and one hat,

¹ The rubrics to this and the two following Statutes are found only in the Latin version.

and three sheets on the bed and the fourth in a sack, a cassock and cowl (*garnache et supe*),¹ and two mantles one with fur (*á penne*) and the other without fur, and hose of flax (*lin*) and of wool.

Ch 2

10. CONCERNING THE EQUIPMENT THAT THE MASTER MAY HAVE.—The Master may have three mounts (*chevauchehures*) for himself, a charger, a palfrey (*turqueman*) and a mule, and one yeoman (*varlet*), and three esquires,² and each should have his mount. Three of these should eat with the *Turcopoles*.³ And he may have two pack animals (*somiers*) and one driver, and one cook and one smith and one *Turcopole* and one scribe and one chaplain and one cleric; and these two should have an esquire. And he may have a brother serjeant as *Seneschal*⁴ with two mounts, and a *Master Equerry*⁵ with two mounts, and two brother knights, each with four mounts.⁶ And fodder for all these mounts should be found by the Master.⁷

¹ Compare this with Para. 2 of 1263, p. 66.

² The esquires were hired attendants, and not brethren of the Order; each Knight had two, and each Serjeant-at-Arms one.

³ *Turcopoles* from the Greek *Τυρκοπούλοι* meaning ‘Sons of Turks’, a name given in Syria to the children of Christian fathers and native mothers. The term is used with a technical military meaning for the native light cavalry armed and equipped as horsebowmen like their Turkish opponents.

⁴ The *Seneschal* was in charge of the Master’s household, in later times he was always a Knight, and frequently a Grand Cross.

⁵ This *Master Equerry*, later known as the *Grand Equerry*, was in charge of the esquires attached to the Master’s household, and must not be confused with the *Master Equerry* of the Convent, see next paragraph. In this combination the word *escuyer* is not translated *esquire*, but *equerry*, as being the term in familiar use at the present time.

⁶ These two Knights are the Companions of the Master, they are omitted in the Latin version, no doubt in error; probably the number of mounts should read three here, and in the following paragraph, since in it the *Bailiffs* have only three mounts; this probability is confirmed by Para. 5 of 1293, p. 95.

⁷ Compare this retinue with the greatly increased establishment laid down in Statute 4 of 1302, p. 122.

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II. CONCERNING THE EQUIPMENT THAT THE MARSHAL MAY HAVE.—The Marshal of the Convent should have four mounts and one standard-bearer (gonfalonier),¹ and two esquires, and two of these should eat with the Turcopolies, and two pack-animals and one driver. The Master Equerry of the Convent² should have three mounts. The Castellans³ and the Bailiffs (i.e. Capitular Bailiffs) should have three mounts and no more, and two esquires. One of the esquires of the Castellans and of the Bailiffs of Acre⁴ should eat with the Turcopolies. Each of the Castellans may have with him one Turcopole. Each brother knight should have four mounts, and the brother serjeants, who serve at arms, two. All the brother knights and the brother serjeants who serve at arms, are under the orders of the Marshal, except the Companions of the Master⁵ and the Bailiffs. At all times, when it shall be necessary, the Bailiffs and all the brethren-at-arms shall be under the orders of the Marshal, if he be present. And if the Master be not there, the Marshal shall be under the order of whomsoever shall take the place of the Master (i.e. the Lieut.-Master). All the equipment (harneis), mounts (chevauchehures), arms and all other things which appertain to chivalry, from whatsoever source they derive, are under the orders of the Marshal, save for the reverence due to the Master who will take what he needs of it

¹ For the standard-bearer, a Knight appointed by the Marshal, see Para. 4 of 1262, p. 54.

² The Master Equerry of the Convent was a Serjeant-at-Arms appointed by the Marshal for life, he was the remount officer of the Order, and in charge of the esquires.

³ There were three Castellans always reckoned among the Capitular Bailiffs, the Castellans of Amposta in Spain, and Le Crac and Margat in Syria.

⁴ The Bailiffs of Acre are the five Bailiffs of the Convent.

⁵ The Companions and ex-Companions of the Master were highly privileged brethren, as we can see from Para. 4 of 1288, p. 89 : at a later period they were sixteen in number, and had seats in the Chapter-General ; their number at this period is shown as two Knights in the previous paragraph, which is confirmed by Para. 4 of 1302, p. 122.

for himself and for his Companions, and save those things which shall be presented to the Master. Concerning all the things that shall be necessary for the Marshalship, the Marshal should make them known to the Master, and the Master should take from the Treasury or from some other fund at his disposal the money (pecune) required to purchase what shall be necessary.¹

12. THE LIST OF VARIOUS PROHIBITIONS AND LIKEWISE OF ORDINANCES.—Neither the Master nor the Bailiff nor any of the brethren of the Hospital should lend or pledge, on behalf of anyone, or charge or alienate the buildings or the heritages of the House.²

No brother, who has not a bailiwick, should give or take or buy or sell or lend or take any orders from any secular person without the permission of his superior (maior), unless it should be a gift to the House of the Hospital ; and such alms he should hand over to his Master as soon as possible.

And a brother of the Convent who wishes to have equipment (harneis) or a new robe, should hand over the old. And let him be contented with the equipment that he shall have, according to the Statutes of the House. And if any part of it be lost through the fault of an esquire, or in any other way, he should render an explanation.

Each one who enters the Religion of the Hospital, let him do in the House that same service which he was accustomed to do in secular life, or otherwise if he be so ordered.

Let no one in the Hospital demand to be made a knight, unless it was promised to him before he had received the habit of the Religion of the Hospital, and likewise unless he should be of such an age that he could have been made a knight had he been in secular life. Nevertheless the sons of gentlemen, if they be

¹ Compare with this Paras. 31 and 32 of 1301, p. 117.

² The Latin version adds ‘without the advice of the Chapter-Generals.’

brought up in the House of the Hospital may be made knights in the House, when they come to the age of chivalry, by the will of the Master or of the Commander, and with the advice of the brethren of the House.

The brother who wishes to fast should eat at the first Convent or at the last, when he shall have heard None¹ and should have the food of the Convent and none other. And if he fast until the evening, he should have the food of the Convent and none other.

When the Master and Convent shall be agreed to make a Commander (i.e. the Grand Commander) to do duty in the Hospital, he should be appointed. And he has the seal of the Master in wax² and seals with it in all places where the Master is absent, and has authority in all places this side the sea.³

If Responsions are sent from beyond the sea, and the Master be not present to receive them, the Commander should receive them, and should have them carried before the sick, and then to the Treasury.

Sometimes there has been a Grand Commander in the Hospital and sometimes not. And sometimes he had the greater power, and sometimes the lesser power,⁴ according to the agreement and will of the Master and of Chapter-General. When he rides abroad, he should have four mounts for his use, and a brother serjeant with two mounts, and one scribe and two

¹ The first Convent is the ordinary midday meal usually at eleven o'clock, after which the Hour of None was said, then came a second table for the servers, at which those absent from the first would be served. The evening meal was usually about six o'clock.

² The Master's Seal in Wax was used for less important documents to avoid the complicated formalities attending the use of the Great Seal. See King's *Seals of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, Chap. IV.

³ The French version has 'deça mer', and the Latin version 'transmarinis'.

⁴ The greater power presumably means 'on both sides the sea', and the lesser power 'on this side the sea' according to whether there was a Grand Commander d'outremer, or not.

Turcoples,¹ and one footman (trotier) or two, when he wishes, and he may take a brother as companion from one house² to another. After the Grand Commander the Treasurer should be made, and he should seal in the name of the Master with the seal of the Master in wax, and his bailiwick runs as far as the bailiwick of the 'tabula' of the Hospital of Jerusalem extends.³ After the Treasurer the Hospitaller or the Almoner should be made, and he should have the same extent of power as you have heard mentioned above. The power of the Drapier⁴ should be as follows : all clothing should be in his power, both that which appertains to the entire Convent, and as far as the 'tabula' of the Hospital of Jerusalem, that is to say throughout the mountains and the farms of the plains (mandres des plains).

The sons of knights⁵ brought up in the House of the Hospital, when they shall come to the age of chivalry, if they be sent to the marches or to parts beyond the sea, should be made knights if they demand it.

¹ The French version has two Turcoples, the Latin version one Turcopole ; the latter is probably correct, since the Master and Castellans only have one each.

² The French version has 'maison', the Latin version 'preceptoria', i.e. commandery.

³ The Tabula of the Hospital means the tables, records, registers, etc., kept there ; it is more closely defined a few lines down as extending 'throughout the mountains and the plains', which presumably means over the Kingdom of Jerusalem, but not over the County of Tripolis or the Principality of Antioch, otherwise it would read 'deça mer', on this side the sea.

⁴ The Drapier was one of the five Bailiffs of the Convent, and was responsible for all clothing, linen, etc. In later history he was known as the Grand Conservator, and was the Pillar of the Tongue of Aragon.

⁵ The Latin version reads 'Filiī nobilium hominū seu militū'.

VII

STATUTES OF FR. HUGH REVEL

1258-77

- A. *Chapter-General of 1262*
- B. *Chapter-General of 1263*
- C. *Chapter-General of 1264*
- D. *Chapter-General of 1265*
- E. *Chapter-General of 1268*
- F. *Chapter-General of 1270*

A. THE CHAPTER-GENERAL OF 1262

THESE ARE THE STATUTES MADE AND ORDAINED AT
THE CHAPTERS-GENERAL OF THE HOLY HOUSE
OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM,
HELD IN THE AUBERGES NEAR CAESAREA AND JAFFA AND
ACRE AND AT LA VIGNE NEUVE, BY THE COMMUNITY
OF THE BRETHREN WHO WERE PRESENT AT THE AFORE-
SAID CHAPTERS, FINALLY CONFIRMED AND APPROVED BY
THE RELIGIOUS BROTHER HUGH REVEL, HONOURABLE
MASTER OF THE SAID HOUSE, AND BY THE PRUD'HOMMES
OF THE SAME HOUSE, ASSEMBLED IN THE CHAPTER-GENERAL
HELD AT ACRE THE NINETEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH OF
SEPTEMBER, IN THE YEAR OF THE INCARNATION OF OUR
LORD JESUS CHRIST 1262, SEALED WITH THE SEAL IN
LEAD OF THE SAME HOUSE.¹

i. Firstly, it is decreed that no brother buy a robe
for his own use, and that the establishment of clothing

¹ The Latin version here adds the words 'quorum prima pars
sequitur et est talis'.

should be sufficiently great ; and he who shall have a robe of pittance¹ should not receive another as rule.

2. Item, that the sentences (justices) and fines of the men (i.e. the vassals) of the Hospital, which the Bailiffs desire to reckon as accruing to them, should be handed over entirely to the Treasury, except the reasonable expenses of the said Bailiffs, which they shall incur in coming to the Chapter.

3. Item, that the wardships which shall be farmed out, be also paid to the Treasury.

4. Item, that the Marshal, as shall seem good to him, may entrust the Standard (gonfanon) to any brother, whom he shall consider most worthy to bear it for his deeds of arms, but always with the advice of the Master, if he should be present, or of whomsoever should be in the place of the Master.

5. Item, that the Marshal order water² for the brethren in the Auberges,³ and that the other Bailiffs do not order water for the brethren, unless they seek for the brethren in their lodgings (ostel).

6. Item, it is decreed concerning the equipment (harnais) of brethren, who have departed this life, that the Marshal do not bestow it except where he shall think fit to bestow it, and that no brother should demand

¹ The robe of pittance was a robe of thinner material for wear in summer, but its issue did not affect the brother's right to a thicker robe for winter use. See *Judgements and Customs*, Para. 97, p. 178. For pittance see p. 57, Note 2.

² For minor breaches of discipline, the brother was deprived of his wine, and placed upon water ; this paragraph apparently refers to absence from Matins, the other Bailiffs may only place the brethren upon water, if they actually go and find them. Compare this with Para. 28 of 1301, Para. 8 of 1304, pp. 116, 133, and *Judgements and Customs*, Para. 119, p. 191.

³ Auberge is the technical name for the lodgings of the brethren of the different Nations or Tongues. In the later Statutes, Title XIX, 4, it is defined as 'the usual name of the houses where the brethren eat together according to their Tongues, and assemble'. The word 'ostels' probably means their cells, to judge from Para. 8 of 1304, p. 133.



WAX SEAL OF FR. HUGH REVEL
In the Archives Nationales, Paris



any part of such equipment the day that the brother shall be buried, but only the day after the Masses and Hours have been sung. And if any brother should demand it the day that the brother is to be buried, and the Marshal complain of him, that he be sentenced to the Quarantine,¹ and that besides he receive nothing of the said equipment.²

7. Item, that no brother wear boots³ except at Prime and Matins,⁴ unless he be ill, and then with the permission of his superior (soverain). And whoever shall wear boots contrary to this order and complaint be made, that he be sentenced to the Septaine. And let this same sentence be given to brethren, who shall wear pauldrons (espaliers d'armes) or chausses (heuses) at forbidden times.⁵

8. Item, that a brother, who has to go beyond the sea, carry with him neither saddle nor other equipment, unless it happen that he be sent to be a bailiff, or on other business, and in any case that he carry nothing more than he shall have permission to carry.

9. Item, that no brother wear a biretta⁶ of silk or

¹ The Septaine and Quarantine, penances of 7 days and 40 days respectively, carried out under very severe conditions, were the standard punishments for more serious offences.

² The arms, armour, and certain other possessions of deceased brethren, were the perquisite of the Marshal; a list of such equipment is given in *Judgements and Customs*, Paras. 113, 115, pp. 189, 190.

³ These night-boots were probably fur-lined cloth protectors for the feet, which served the double purpose of keeping them warm during the winter nights spent in the cold church, and of rendering their footfall inaudible during the hours of the great silence, which lasted from Compline till Prime. See Gasquet's *English Monastic Life*, p. 112.

⁴ Matins were said immediately after midnight, and Prime not earlier than six o'clock in summer, and at seven in winter.

⁵ Pauldrons are shoulder-guards; chausses are leg-guards, usually of chain-mail, from the foot to the knee, the leg from the knee upwards being protected by chaussons. During the latter half of the thirteenth century chausses and chaussons were made in one stocking-like form covering foot and leg.

⁶ The French version has 'chapeau de bonet' and the Latin version 'birretum bonneti'; it is an early form of biretta.

of camlet,¹ and that the birettas of the brethren touch the ears on each side, and he who shall offend, let him undergo the Septaine.

10. Item, if it so happen, which thing may God forbid, that the Master be taken by the Saracens, it is decreed that the brethren, who should escape from the battle, with the advice and the consent of the prud'hommes² of the House in the district (marche) to which those brethren shall have come, may elect any good brother and prud'homme, who in the Master's place may carry on profitably the business of the House until the first Chapter-General following. And in that Chapter-General the assembled Bailiffs and other prud'hommes of the House³ should elect any brother and prud'homme in the Master's place from this side the sea, or from beyond, as shall seem to them best to do, who should carry on profitably, according to the laws of God, the needs and business of the House, until the release and return of the said Master. And he who should be elected in the Master's place, should take an oath, to govern profitably and faithfully the needs of the House, and loyally to do his utmost to procure the release of the said Master.

11. Item, it is decreed that no one should be elected or promoted to be Master of the aforesaid House, unless he should be a brother knight of the aforesaid House, which brother knight must be the son of a knight and of a legitimate marriage.

¹ Camlet was originally cloth made of camel's hair, but now is made chiefly of wool and goat's hair.

² The word prud'homme is difficult to translate, it means men of experience trusted and commanding respect. From Statute 4 of 1288, p. 89, it seems probable that the Hospitallers in the Convent used the term prud'homme of the Bailiffs and ex-Bailiffs, and of the Companions and ex-Companions of the Master, and in the Priories that the lesser Bailiffs or Commanders were the prud'hommes.

³ Presumably this is a Chapter-General composed only of the Bailiffs serving in the East, and certain selected brethren, as was assembled on the death of a Master to elect his successor. See the Statutes of Margat, Para. 5, p. 45.

12. Item, it is decreed concerning the Syrians of Le Crac and of Margat, and concerning the Greeks of Cyprus, as was formerly decreed, that no Syrian or Greek should be taken away by any bailiff, and that the bailiffs may not allow them to be taken away by any other brother to the Common Chapter,¹ nor to any other place outside the bailiwicks of the said places. And if any have been taken away, they should immediately be ordered back to the places from which they have been taken.

13. Item, that any brother, undergoing the Quarantine, should be at liberty to eat meat every day in the week except Friday, which meat his Bailiff should give him, if he ask for it, every day except Friday.

14. Item, that no brother nor Donat² should be ordered this side the sea to reside there, without the Master's special authority.

15. Item, that no brother whatever his authority or office may be, may grant any house in perpetuity nor for the life of any secular person, without the consent of the Master this side the sea and of all the Chapter-General; also they should do their utmost to recover the houses, which the Priors Bailiffs or Commanders or others,³ whatever the authority they had, may have granted, or may have been granted by their predecessors.

16. Item, inasmuch as it has been made known that many possessions have been alienated beyond the seas, for which the bailiffs have received large sums of money and small rents, it is decreed that from henceforward

¹ By the Common Chapter is no doubt meant the Chapter-General, which is also called the Common Chapter in the Statutes of Fr. Jobert, p. 29.

² The Donats were laymen attached to the Order; they had to be of knightly birth, they enjoyed the same advantages and undertook the same liabilities as the Confratres, and were eligible for reception in the Order as brother Knights. See King's *Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land*, p. 72.

³ The Latin version reads: 'par priores aut preceptores seu quoscunque alios'.

no one may alienate nor let for a term, either houses or lands or vines, for any sum of money, unless there should be need in any place where by chance the lands or vines cannot be cultivated profitably by the House, nor the houses be profitably retained, and then in that case they should be let at the highest rents possible; and no fine for entry should be taken, except the amount of the rent for one year, where it is necessary.¹

17. Item, inasmuch as it has been made known that there are some churches or chapels in some houses of the Hospital, in which it was customary to maintain a priest, and none is now maintained in them, it was decreed that in such places in which the house is able to support it, a priest should be maintained as had been the custom formerly.

18. Item, that no one be appointed to seek offerings and alms for the House, except a brother of the house or other suitable and honest person, and that to the latter the habit of the Hospital should not be lent.

19. Item, that no Prior, nor Bailiff nor other brother knight a brother, unless he who is to be knighted should be the son of a knight or of knightly family.²

20. Item, that all the Commanders and Priors beyond the seas be held to settle a fixed Responsion for each house that they hold in their hands, and to join that responsion to the Responsion for their bailiwick, and to send it this side the sea.

21. Item, that all the horses and arms, which shall be left to the House of the Hospital, should be sent to the Master this side the sea; except that it happen by chance that any horse be such that it be not suitable

¹ Compare this with Para. 3 of 1303, p. 128.

² The Latin version reads: 'Etiam quod nemo priorum seu baylivorum recipiat aliquem in fratrem militem, nisi descendat ex parentela, que ipsum dignum reddat; qui autem contrarium fecerit, habitum perdat.' The later accepted version of this Statute reads 'Such as desire to be admitted knights must prove by authentic evidence that they are born of parents noble both by name and arms.'

to send, which horse should be sold there, and the price should be sent to the Master.

22. Item, whereas it has been decreed that no Bailiff nor other brother may make a sister without the permission of the Master this side the sea, this statute is relaxed to this extent, that is to say that the Priors should regard and consider the profits and the honours, that could come to the House, if they should receive the sisters and the losses which they could also have, if they should refuse to receive them. And these things being considered in that manner, the Priors may have authority to receive such sisters, as should not be young nor of suspicious age.

23. Item, it is decreed that every Prior beyond the sea should have a register, which he should keep in his private cabinet (*segrete*), in which register should be entered all the rents lands vines and meadows, which register every bailiff (i.e. Commander) should have and receive from his Prior, that is to say of everything that relates to his bailiwick.

24. Item, it is decreed that no brother should take gold and silver beyond the sea, except to the frontiers of the Saracens.

25. Item, with the authority and common consent of the brethren who were at Chapter-General, all manner of grants are recalled, which have been made heretofore by any Master or Bailiff to whatever secular person they may have been made, whether they be men or women, of whatever house or possession it may be, or in whatever manner made. And it is decreed that the bailiffs in the bailiwicks, in which such grants shall have been made, should recover and resume them, unless by chance they concern some person from whom great harm could come to the Hospital.

26. Item, concerning the making of brethren on this side the sea, it is decreed that whoever demands to be a brother should come on a Sunday, when the Chapter shall be assembled, into the presence of the Chapter,

and demand the company of the brethren. And if the Chapter or the greater part of it are so agreed to receive him, let him be received ; and if the greater part are not so agreed, the Bailiff has not the power to receive him into the company of the brethren.¹

26 bis. It is decreed that a brother or Donat may not be sent hither beyond the sea without the special license of the Master and of his Council, namely with the license of the Council of the brethren of the parts this side the sea. And when anyone shall be sent under license, if he be a knight and lacking in equipment, let him take with him two thousand Deniers Tournois (*Turonensium argenti*), and let the said Tournois² be placed in the Treasury, and if a Donat be sent, who desires to be made a knight, let him take the same number of Tournois, and nonetheless let them be bound to produce the written authority for their donation. But whosoever with rash presumption shall dare to act contrary to a statute of this nature, let him be sent back forthwith.³

27. Item, it is decreed that every Sunday the brethren, who shall not be occupied in any duty of the House, shall come to the procession.⁴

28. Item, that all the brethren shall come to High

¹ In the Latin version the following qualification is here made : 'except the noble Donats of the House'.

² The Denier Tournois was so called from its being modelled upon the famous deniers struck at Tours ; twelve Deniers Tournois went to the Gros Tournois first struck by St. Louis. Four Deniers Tournois were the equivalent of five Deniers Parisis, the original royal coinage. In view of the fact that the brother took with him 2,000 *Turonensium Argenti*, the word *argenti* presumably here means Deniers and not Gros.

³ This paragraph is found only in the Latin version ; compare with it Para. 5 of 1293, p. 95, and Para. 7 of 1303, p. 129.

⁴ That is the solemn procession, round the cloisters, of the entire community, prior to entering the church for High Mass. See Gasquet's *English Monastic Life*, pp. 133, 134. Compare with this Para. 9 of 1270, Para. 4 of 1301, Para. 13 of 1302, pp. 75, 110, 124, and *Judgements and Customs*, Para. 96, p. 178.



BALDWIN IV OF JERUSALEM

AMAURY II OF JERUSALEM

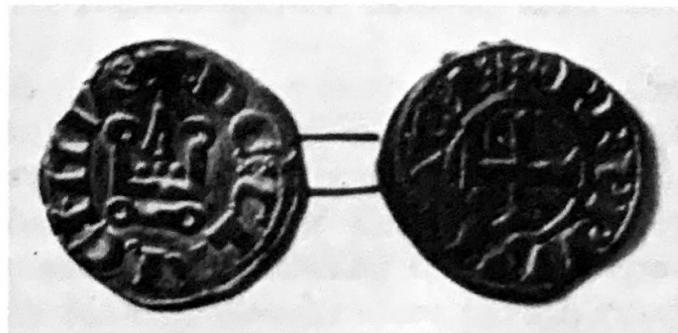


BOHEMOND IV OF ANTIOCH

RAYMOND III OF TRIPOLIS

DENIERS

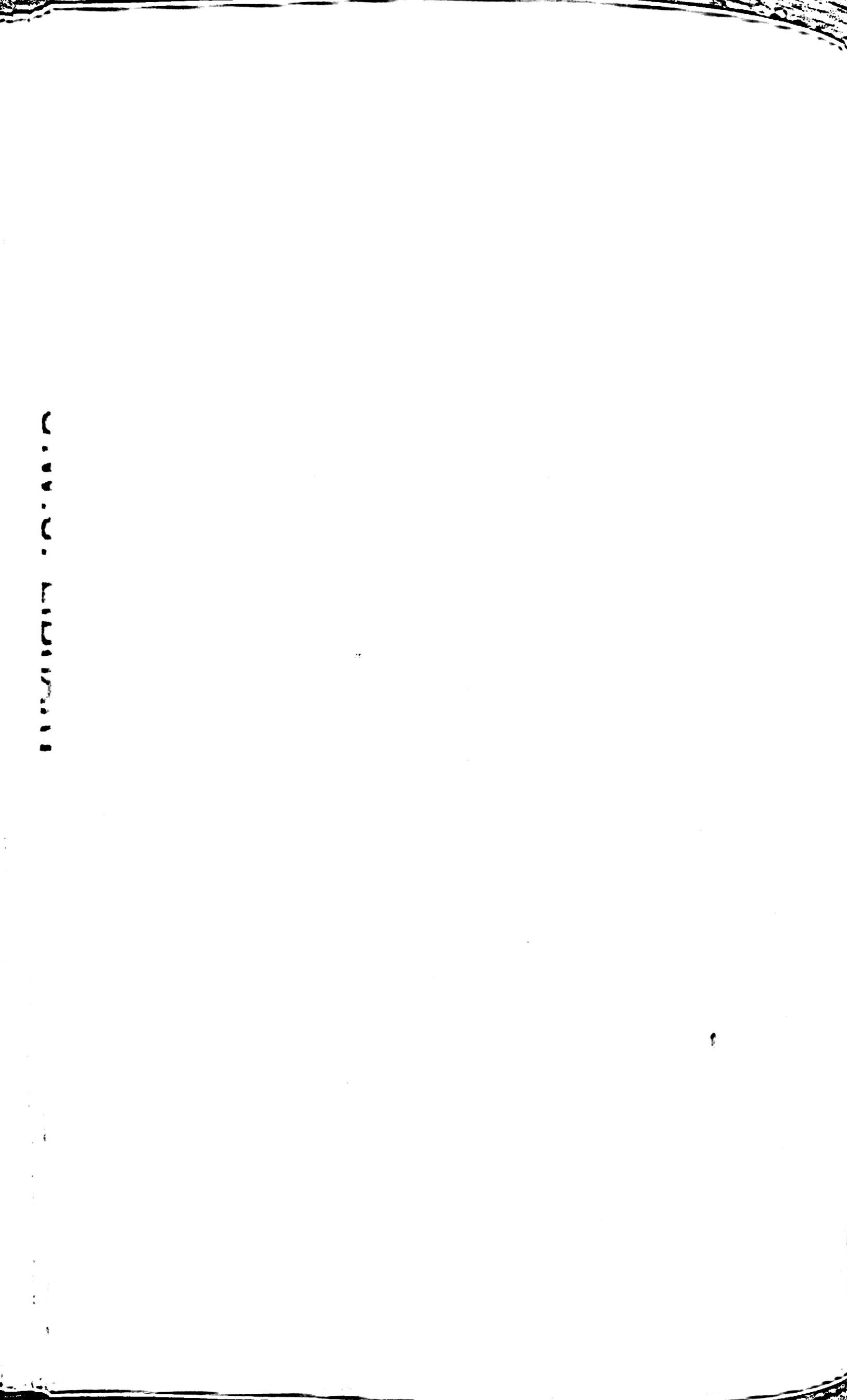
From Colonel King's Collection



CHARLES II OF ACHAIA

DENIERS TOURNOIS

From Colonel King's Collection



Mass on Christmas Day, on the days of the Circumcision, of the Baptism, of the Purification of Our Lady, of the Annunciation, of Palm Sunday, of Easter, of the Ascension, of Pentecost, of the one and of the other Holy Cross,¹ of the Assumption, of the Nativity of Our Lady, of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, of All Saints, and of the other festivals on which it is customary to make procession, and whoever shall not come, let him undergo the Septaine.

29. Item, it is decreed that when the Priors die in the parts beyond the sea, that bailiff (i.e. Commander) in whose bailiwick the Prior dies should summon to himself eleven brother bailiffs of other bailiwicks of that same Priory, of those who are nearest to the bailiwick where the Prior died, to appoint in place of the Prior one of the brethren of that same Priory, the one whom they shall consider to be the most suitable for that same office. Which brother, appointed in place of the Prior by those twelve, or the greater part of them, all the brethren of that Priory shall be bound to obey in all things, until such time as the death of the said Prior be come to the knowledge of the said Master, this side the sea,² and they have received other orders from the said Master. And if it happen that the Prior should die in any chamber³ or in any bailiwick, which he held in his own charge, the bailiff⁴ of the bailiwick, which should be nearest to the chamber in which the Prior died, should summon the eleven brethren,⁵ who are this number for the reason given above, and ordain and

¹ That is the festivals of the Invention of the Holy Cross on May 3rd and of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross on September 14th.

² The Latin version here adds 'or the Grand Commander'.

³ The term Chamber, in Latin Camera, is applied to those benefices or commanderies constituting the Prior's appanage, and in the same way the Master's Commandery, in each Priory, is always spoken of as the Camera Magistralis.

⁴ The Latin version here reads 'baylivus seu preceptor bajulie'.

⁵ The Latin version says twelve brethren, making a Committee of thirteen.

appoint in place of the Prior with the eleven aforesaid, in the manner aforesaid. And if it happen that the Prior had been sent outside his Priory on some mission, or in the service of any Prince, on the business of the House, by order of the Master, this side the sea, and it happen that the said Prior should die before he had returned to his Priory, that brother whom the Prior had left in his place (i.e. the Lieut.-Prior), when he went to attend to the business entrusted to him by the Prince or by the Master, if it be as aforesaid, should act and ordain and appoint in place of the Prior, in the manner aforesaid.

30. Item, it is decreed that no bailiff, when he dies, should make a will, nor leave anything to his serjeants nor to others, except their wages, and to pay the debts that he owes.

31. Item, it is decreed that on Fridays in the octaves of Easter and Christmas, and on all Fridays on which fall the Festivals of All Saints, of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, and of the Assumption, and of the Nativity, and of the Purification of Our Lady, and of the one and of the other Holy Cross, and of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul the bell for dinner should be sounded at the hour when it is usually sounded on the other days on which one does not fast. And the brethren who wish to fast on those Fridays, should fast and eat at the last convent.¹

32. Item, it is decreed that no secular person, neither clerk nor layman, neither this side the sea nor beyond, should carry or keep the keys of the houses in which are contained the provisions and goods of the house, unless he be a brother of the Hospital, except in the places where one could not have a brother for this office, and that no secular person, neither clerk nor layman, should have authority over a brother in any house.

33. Item, it is decreed that the Brother of the In-

¹ That is, the second table, which was served immediately after the midday meal, for the benefit of the servers and those unable to be present at it.

firmary¹ every night after Compline² and after Matins, should visit the beds of the sick brethren who lie in the Infirmary. And that no Caravanier³ nor other serjeant nor Donat should give to the sick brother the money (deniers), that it is customary to give,⁴ but the brother himself (i.e. of the Infirmary). And at all times at which the doctor shall visit the sick brethren, the brother of the Infirmary should go with him, that is to say in the morning and in the evening.

34. Item, it is forbidden that a brother should have an embroidered kerchief (cuevrechief rechamé), but one of white only.

35. Item, that no brother should wear an embroidered turban (toaillon rechamé) to his waist, nor of any other colour than white.

36. Item, it is decreed that no brother should give a robe to any of his retinue (maihnée), except it be of some thick material or of livery cloth,⁵ except to the sons of gentlemen, who are in the House.

37. Item, that the sick brother when he comes into the Infirmary, should bring with him his bed and his arms, and if he die there, that all his equipment (harneis) be put in a sack, and be sealed with the seal of the Infirmary, and that it be not unsealed except in the presence of the Master Equerry and of the Infirmarian and of the Brother of the Parmentarie.⁶ And that which

¹ The Brother of the Infirmary is doubtless the same as the Infirmarian, mentioned in Para. 15 of 1301, p. 113: he was a Knight nominated by the Hospitaller, in charge of the Infirmary for the sick brethren.

² The last Hour of the day, at seven o'clock in winter, and at eight o'clock in summer.

³ The Caravaniers were those brethren detailed for duty with the Caravans, as the military expeditions were called.

⁴ Small sums of money were given to monks as pocket-money, and for their charities. See Gasquet's *English Monastic Life*, p. 105.

⁵ The livery cloth, or 'drap de livreison', is the regulation cloth of which the robes, issued from store, were made.

⁶ The Brother of the Parmentarie is the official in charge of the clothing-store, nominated by the Drapier.

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goes to him should be handed over to the Drapier, and that which goes to him should be handed over to the Marshal.

38. And the first day that he enters into the Infirmary, let him confess his sins to the Prior and receive the communion. Item, it is decreed that a brother should confess his sins to no one except his Prior¹ or another brother chaplain of the House, without the permission of his superior (soveirain).²

39. WHAT THINGS ARE FORBIDDEN FOR THE BRETHREN IN THE INFIRMARY.—Item, it is decreed for the brethren, who are in the Infirmary and play at chess or read romances or eat forbidden food, that the brethren should not give them anything of the Infirmary from that time forward, and they should undergo no other penalty.

40. WHAT THE MASTER SHOULD FORBID AND DO IN THE CASE OF BRETHREN TO GO BEYOND THE SEA.—Item, it is decreed that the Master should summon before him the brethren, who are to go beyond the sea, and should give them definite orders forbidding them to take with them any equipment (arnois) without permission.

41. CONCERNING HUNTING AND HAWKING.—Hunting and hawking are forbidden both this side the sea and beyond.

42. WHAT BOOKS OF DECEASED BRETHREN SHOULD COME TO THE TREASURY.—Item, it is decreed that all the books of brethren departed this life should be handed over to the Treasury, except Roman breviaries³ and psalters.

43. THE PENALTY OF THE BROTHER ABSENT FROM MASS AND HOW A SICK BROTHER CAN HEAR MASS.—Item, it is decreed that a brother who absents himself from the Mass, which he is bound to hear, unless he be ill or on

¹ This does not mean the Prior of one of the great administrative Priories, who is not a cleric, but in the case of the Convent the Prior of the Church, and in the case of a provincial establishment, the senior ecclesiastic who in early times is often also termed Prior.

² The remaining paragraphs are taken from another MS. in which each is provided with a rubric.

³ The Latin version reads: ‘exceptis breviariis romanciis seu cronicis et psalteriis planis’.

the service of the House, should undergo such sentence (justice) as he would undergo for absence from Prime or any other Hour. The brethren who are sick may come after the Hours to hear Mass, if they desire to do so.

44. CONCERNING THE PLUNDER TAKEN ON RAIDS.—Item, it is decreed concerning the plunder taken on raids (*chavauchiés*) that if anything be sold, the price of it be handed over to the Treasury.

45. WHEN A BROTHER MAY SIT AT THE TABLE OF THE INFIRMARY WITHOUT LEAVE.—It is decreed that the brother, who through illness should be three days in bed, afterwards can sit at the table of the Infirmary without asking leave.

46. CONCERNING THE OFFICE OF THE COMPANIONS OF THE MASTER.—Item, it is decreed that the Companions of the Master¹ can summon brethren to accompany the Master when he shall ride abroad (*chavauchera*).

47. CONCERNING THE POSSESSIONS OF PRIORS AND COMMANDERS OF HOUSES WHO DIE.—Item, it is decreed that the possessions that shall be found of Commanders, who shall have departed this life, should pass into the hands of their Priors, and the possessions of the Priors who die should come to the Treasury.

48. WHEN AND HOW A BROTHER MAY SELL A SLAVE.—Item, it is decreed that no bailiff nor other brother may give away or sell outside the House any slave, unless he be an old or sickly slave, or one who desires to purchase his freedom, for the price of which one might have two or three slaves.

49. CONCERNING THE BAPTISM OF SLAVES.—Item, it is decreed that no bailiff nor any other brother should cause any slave to be baptized without a special license of the Master.²

¹ The Companions of the Master were at this time two Knights, see Para. 4 of 1302, p. 122, and Para. 10 of the Statutes of Margat, p. 48.

² This is taken from the Latin version, it is accidentally omitted in the old French version, the rubric being followed immediately by the next paragraph.

50. Item, it is decreed that no bailiff nor any other brother may enfranchise any Syrian nor any Grifon (i.e. Greek), whether man or serf of the House, on this side the sea,¹ nor confirm their enfranchisement without the permission of the Master.

51. WHAT OFFICE FOR THE DEAD SHOULD BE PERFORMED THE FIRST MONDAY IN LENT.—Item, it is decreed that the first Monday in Lent, when the brethren shall begin to fast, a solemn office for the dead should be celebrated for the Masters and for the brethren who have departed this life. And the Sunday before, solemn Vespers and Vigils for the dead should be chanted, and all the bells should be rung in every House where there is a priest.

B. THE CHAPTER-GENERAL OF 1263

THESE ARE THE STATUTES WHICH WERE MADE AT THE CHAPTER-GENERAL WHICH WAS HELD AT ACRE IN THE YEAR 1263 AT THE END OF THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER.²

1. CONCERNING THE PENANCE OF BRETHREN WHO HAVE THEIR ROBE MADE OUTSIDE THE PARMENTARIE.—Firstly it was decreed that any brother who has his robe made outside the Parmentarie, without the permission of the Drapier, where the House maintains a Parmentarie, let him undergo the Septaine.

2. THAT A BROTHER MAY NOT REMOVE THE FUR FROM HIS CASSOCK.—Item, it is decreed that a brother may not remove the fur (*la penne*) from his cassock (*garnache*), but that he may keep the fur with the cassock, and may have a cassock without fur.³

3. THAT THOSE TO BE MADE BRETHREN SHOULD PROVIDE THEIR CLOTHING.—Item, it is decreed that he who wishes

¹ The Latin version has ‘*citra vel ultra mare*’.

² The Latin version gives the name of the Master Hugh Revel and ends with the words ‘*sequitur pars secunda*’.

³ The Statutes of Margat, Para. 9, p. 48, lay down that a brother should have one ‘*garnache et supe*’ and two ‘*manteaus une à penne et autre sans penne*’.

to become a brother, should provide his own clothing, if he have the wherewithal.

4. WHAT LIGHT THE PRIOR SHOULD HAVE IN THE CHURCH.—Item, it is decreed that at double festivals¹ the Prior of the Church of Acre should have six candles burning on the Altar at all the Hours, and at other festivals and on Sundays four candles, and at the festivals of nine lections two candles, and on ordinary days (ferial)² one candle, and before the altar of Our Lady and before the altar of St. Blaise let him have candles burning at all the Hours.

5. HOW MANY PRIESTS AND CLERKS THE PRIOR OF THE CHURCH MAY KEEP.—It is decreed that the Prior of Acre may keep four priest-vicars and one Caravan priest³ and two deacons and four acolytes and one church-warden (mareglier). And in the Hospital for the sick he may keep one other priest and one other acolyte. And outside at St. Michael's one priest and one acolyte.

6. THAT THE PRIEST CHANTING AT ST. MICHAEL'S SHALL NOT KEEP THE ANNUAL AND FOR WHOM HE SHOULD CHANT.—Item, it is decreed that he who shall chant at St. Michael's shall not keep the annual (i.e. festivals), but shall chant for the souls of the Master and brethren and for the good folk who are there interred.

7. CONCERNING THE DUTY OF THE PRIORS OF THE CHURCHES OF LE CRAC AND MARGAT.—Item, it is decreed that in the churches of Le Crac and Margat the Priors⁴ shall have candles burning in the same manner as is ordained for the church of Acre; and that the Prior of Le Crac shall keep lights in the church, just as was customary in the past, and that the Prior shall have

¹ The festivals of the Catholic Church are each celebrated by an appropriate office, which according to its character are either duplex, semi-duplex or simplex.

² Ferial means belonging to any day of the week, which is neither a fast nor a festival, see p. 197, footnote.

³ The Caravan priest is the priest detailed to act as chaplain to the Caravans or military expeditions.

⁴ These Priors are Ecclesiastics and not Bailiffs.

no power to increase them nor to diminish them, neither should the Castellan nor any other bailiff interfere to increase or diminish them.

8. CONCERNING CUT (ENTAMÉS) WOOLLEN CLOTH AND HORSE-RUGS (TRASDOUR) AND SILKEN COVERLETS OF DECEASED BRETHREN AND WHOSE THEY SHOULD BE.— Item, it is decreed that all cloth that has been taken into use (où forces auront été mises), which shall be discovered, belonging to brethren departed this life, should go to the Drapier, and also all buckrams (bouquerans). And if there be any cloth of gold, let it go to the church, and silken coverlets (couvertors) to our lords the sick.

C. THE CHAPTER-GENERAL OF 1264

THESE ARE THE STATUTES WHICH WERE MADE AT THE CHAPTER-GENERAL AT ACRE THE YEAR OF THE INCARNATION OF OUR LORD 1264 THE EIGHTH DAY OF THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER.

1. Firstly it is decreed that when the brethren have orders to make a raid (chevaucher), they shall truss up behind them all the armour that they carry for their bodies, except their iron hats (chapel de fer) and iron leg coverings (jambières de fer).

2. Item, it is decreed that all uncut (entiers) cloth which shall be discovered, belonging to deceased brethren, should go to the Marshal; and all cloth taken into use (où forces auront été mises), and all buckrams (bouquerans) should go to the Drapier. And if there be any cloth of gold, let it go to the church, and silken coverlets to the sick poor.

D. THE CHAPTER-GENERAL OF 1265

THESE ARE THE STATUTES MADE AT THE CHAPTER-GENERAL HELD AT ACRE THE SATURDAY THE FIFTH DAY OF THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER TO THE END, IN THE YEAR 1265.¹

¹ The Latin version gives the name of the Master Hugh Revel and ends with the words 'sequitur pars tertia'.

1. Firstly, it is decreed that no brother, neither a Bailiff nor any other, may sell or give away any mount (chevauchehure) except only if the beast be such that it is unfit for any brother, then the Capitular Bailiff may sell it and place the besants (obtained) in the Treasury, se est a eu (remainder illegible).

2. Item, establi est que nul frere ne tiegne ali . . . ou a l'ahuerie, sauf les . . . uliers, et tant come l'erbage durera le puissent tenir les freres.¹

3. Item, that a brother may be sentenced to the Septaine on the evidence of one brother or of one priest, who owes fealty to the House, or of one knight, a liege-man of the House, or of any other responsible person.

4. Item, that the bailiffs, who come from beyond the sea, shall be without bailiwicks the first year that they come, and shall lodge in the Dormitory at the Auberge if they remain, unless there be obvious reasons against it. And if the Marshal should desire to lodge any one of them in his chamber he may do it.

5. Item, it is decreed that the brethren, who are absent from the interment of a brother departed this life, shall undergo the Quarantaine, and for the Confratres shall undergo the Septaine, except in the case of those ordered to go elsewhere.

6. Item, that no bailiff shall have power to put in prison any priest or clerk, neither Grifon nor Nestorian, nor of any other nation, nor to arrest them, but may be allowed to lay hands upon their children and upon their temporal possessions.

7. Item, that no bailiff or other brother may deal with men who have deserved death, but let them be delivered up to the court to the jurors, and they should be judged by them.²

8. Item, that no man who has been in another Religion,

¹ The meaning of this paragraph is obscure, owing to the text being damaged, and the Latin version is unfortunately missing.

² Compare with this Para. 10 of 1270, p. 76, and Para. 22 of 1283, p. 86.

may be received in our Religion, without the special permission of the Master and of the Chapter-General this side the sea, except when he who receives him does not know that he has been in another Religion. And so soon as he shall know it, he must take away from him his mantle. And if it so happen that he knew that he had been in another Religion, and in spite of it received him, let him lose his habit, and likewise also him whom he had received, except this that if anyone had been a brother of ours and had gone into another Religion with permission to do so, he may be received.

9. Item, it is decreed that in the decoration of shields and of saddles and of peytrals,¹ there must be no gilding (orpel) nor silken embroidery (labor de soie), but only plain necessary work, except that each brother having a saddle for battle² may place a little escutcheon (escucel) upon that saddle, and that which was there may not remain.

10. Item, it is decreed that when the Master shall issue any order to any brother beyond the sea, and he shall seek advice about the order of the Master and shall not obey the order of the Master, he shall be summoned hither, and complaint shall be lodged against him when he shall have come, and he shall lose his habit, which he may recover if he plead for pardon humbly.

11. Item, that no cleric may be ordained on the roll of the House, neither to be sub-deacon nor priest, until such time as he has served one year in the House. And that no bailiff may cause a cleric to be ordained except

¹ The peytral is part of the barding, or armour protecting the horse, and hung from the neck and withers, it is frequently provided with large bosses, or glancing-knobs, to direct the lance-thrust away from the horse. See Ffoulkes, *Armour and Weapons*, p. 90.

² The French version here has 'selle galegue', in Para. 1 of 1304, p. 130, it has 'selles d'armes', the Latin version in both cases has 'sella armorum'; it is the heavy massive saddle used by the Knight in battle. Presumably the following words mean that he may place upon it a small escutcheon of the arms of the Order, but must not have one of his own Arms.

on the presentation of the Prior of the Church (i.e. the Conventual Prior). And that the clerics brought up in the House may not be ordained sub-deacon until such time as they have passed 18 years, and the deacons 22 years, and the priests 26 years. And that no cleric from outside may be received for the service of the House, unless he can show, by letters or by verbal witness, credible testimony of his ordination.

12.¹ Item, it is decreed that the brother, who shall come from beyond the sea with his habit without the permission of his superior (soverain), shall have his habit taken from him, and be sent beyond the sea without his habit, to recover his habit in the place from which he came.

13. Item, it is decreed that no tallage ² be made until the Responsions be paid in full. And afterwards, if there be any need, the bailiff (i.e. the Prior) with the advice of his Chapter-General may make a tallage in common upon all his bailiffs (Latin version : preceptores), that is to say at such a rate as is necessary.

E. THE CHAPTER-GENERAL OF 1268

THESE ARE THE STATUTES MADE AND ORDAINED AT THE CHAPTER-GENERAL (IN THE YEAR) OF THE INCARNATION 1268 THE LAST DAY OF SEPTEMBER AT ACRE.³

I. Item, it is decreed that no Master Serjeant nor Master Crossbowman shall eat at the table of the brethren, but the doctor of medicine and of surgery, who is a suitable person, may do so, or any other prud'homme known to the Commander of Acre or to the Castellans

¹ In one MS. these last two Statutes, and in another MS. the last Statute only, are preceded by the words : 'These are the Statutes, which were made at the Chapter-General which was held at Acre the sixth of the Calends of October, the year of the Incarnation 1266.'

² A tallage was a special tax imposed by a feudal lord upon his unfree tenants.

³ The Latin version gives the name of the Master as 'The Most Reverend Lord Hugh Revel, the said Master' and ends with the words 'quarta pars noscitur esse talis'.

of Le Crac and of Margat, except the liegemen in Acre, the two scribes of the Master and the two scribes of the Treasury and the Notary Public, and at Le Crac the two scribes, and at Margat the other two scribes.

2. Item, it is decreed that the table be not set for supper at the second Convent, save for those engaged in service, and let those who wish for supper come to the first Convent.

3. Item, that if the Master order here a brother of arms from the castles to go beyond the sea, that his equipment (harneis) be kept at the orders of the Master. And if the brother remain and the Marshal give him equipment, that the Marshal may give him that same equipment.

4. Item, that if the Marshal have a palfrey (turqueman) or a hack (roncin), that if the brother demand the hack, he may have it for a charger.¹

5. Item, that no brother may purchase a robe of any finer make (dyste de nule rase plus haut) than three besants a garment (un garniment), and he who would purchase a robe, purchases it by permission.

6. Item, it is decreed concerning all the brethren, who go beyond the sea, and are not bailiffs. The brother of the ship² should take provisions for them, and should arrange for their being kept. And if any brother purchase any provisions, whatever provisions the brethren put in the ship, let it be by the grace of the brother of the ship, and at his disposal ; and that the commander of the ship be bound to prepare the provisions each day according to the day, and if possible in accordance with the custom of the House, and for the sick brethren that he provide for them in their necessity according to his power. On Sundays let him give between two brethren a chicken or salt meat, if

¹ Compare this with Para. 8 of 1278, p. 81.

² The 'brother of the ship' and the 'commander of the ship' mentioned a little later are evidently the same person, in other words the captain of the ship is a brother of the Order.

he have no other fresh meat, and on Tuesdays and Thursdays between four brethren a chicken, so long as they shall last, or salt meat. And if it happen by chance that the brother of the ship will not keep to this arrangement, the Commander in charge of the brethren shall tell him that he must do it, and if he will not do it, then he has power to lodge a complaint against him, but in such a way that he does not lose control over the ship, and he may take nothing that belongs to him. And if by chance the brother of the ship insists upon going contrary to what is ordained, let the brother go no further, but let him bring it to the knowledge of the Master in writing, witnessed by the brethren. And when they come to land, where they intended to go, and there shall be left any of the provisions with the brother of the ship, the brethren who are come in the ship, can demand nothing of it. And this ordinance is for the brethren who come from Syria. And the brother of the ship can put any brother serjeant, of those who are in the ship in charge of the provisions. And if a Capitular Bailiff or envoys are in the ship, the brother of the ship has nothing to do with supplying them or their retinue (maihnée). But all the brethren who shall be in the ship, are under the command of whomsoever the Master puts there for bailiff. And if God summon to Himself any of the brethren, who shall be in the ship, whatsoever he possessed shall be laid out in the presence of the brother of the ship, and of the Commander of the brother, and before any of the brethren who shall be present, and everything shall be set down in writing and sealed up, and shall be handed over to the brother of the ship, and given up to the Master. And if it happen that they winter in the islands, the commander of the ship shall make them their allowances as has been said before, nor can the brethren demand more, but just as has been laid down above. And if there be left anything of any secular person, who dies in the ship, it shall be done just as has been said above.

F. THE CHAPTER-GENERAL OF 1270

THESE ARE THE STATUTES MADE AND ORDAINED AT THE CHAPTER-GENERAL WHICH WAS HELD IN ACRE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE MONTH OF JUNE IN THE YEAR OF THE INCARNATION 1270.¹

1. Firstly concerning boots (*estiveaus*) : all are forbidden. The master allows them on sufferance in such manner that if anyone offends in this respect, that a complaint be lodged against him, that is to say that as soon as he shall disarm himself, that he put them off or that he put over them his shoes (*soliers*).²

2. Item, when a brother is forbidden to eat cooked food for absence from Matins, he must eat nothing but bread and water.

3. Item, when the brethren are engaged in deeds of arms, and the Master is in the bailiwick,³ and he appoints no man in his place, all the brethren are under the orders of the Marshal.

4. Item, if water be ordered for any brother at the table of the Infirmary, and he know that it will be harmful to his body, he must inform the Master, if he be present in the Hall (*palais*), or one of the Bailiffs, or if a Bailiff be not there, the Prior of the Church.

4A. Item,⁴ it is decreed that when the Marshal and the Chapel, and the Master Equerry and the greater

¹ The Latin version gives the name of the Master Hugh Revel, and ends with the words 'quinta pars noscitur esse talis'.

² The meaning of this Statute is a little obscure : compare with it Para. 33 of 1301, p. 118.

³ Presumably the words 'in the bailiwick' here mean when the Master remains in his Bailiwick, that is in the Convent.

⁴ This Statute appears in another MS., and is obviously corrupt. Its meaning is not clear, since the Grand Commander is left in charge at Acre, the words Marshal and Chapel must be a scribal error for Master and Chapter, and since the presence or otherwise of the Master Equerry would be quite immaterial, this must be a further error, and should probably read Marshal.

part of the Convent have passed the Pas du Chien¹ towards the land of Tripolis, the Grand Commander of Acre may place knights in charge of the brethren who remain. But if any of the brethren die, his equipment (harnois) is at the disposition of the Marshal.

5. Item, it is forbidden for the Bailiffs of Cyprus Tyre Tripolis and Armenia to admit a brother, except it be by special permission of the Master or whomsoever shall be in his place in the land (i.e. the Lieut.-Master), likewise those of the House of Acre, and of Le Crac and of Margat, except it be in Chapter as is ordained.

6. Item, it is decreed that the legacies, which shall be left expressly to the sick, shall go to the sick, that is to the Hospitaller. And that which shall be left to the Hospital (i.e. to the Order) shall go to the Grand Commander.²

7. Item, it is decreed that no one, unless he be born of a legitimate marriage, shall be a knight in the House, unless he be the son of a Count or of someone of higher degree, nor shall he have a Capitular Bailiwick this side the sea, nor a bailiwick 'de gonfanon'.³

8. Item, it is ordained by Chapter that when bailiffs shall come from beyond the sea or from this side the sea, that the provisions and other things that they bring with them, shall be placed in our House of Acre, that is to say within it, or in the ox-stalls, or in the wood-sheds, or in the piggery, or in the fowl-houses, or in the other departments of the House, where there is a brother in charge.

9. Item, it was ordained that when the brethren go

¹ The Pas du Chien is the pass north of the Dog River (Nahr-el-Kelb), the boundary between the County of Tripolis, and the Lordship of Beyrout in the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

² The copyist has struck out the words 'Grand Commander' in the MS., and substitutes 'the Treasury'.

³ The term 'bailiwick de gonfanon' is unusual, it means the command of troops, the office of a Knight Banneret, with troops serving under his banner.

to chant grace,¹ they should go in order two and two, and that they should wear the habit properly, and that the Marshal or another Bailiff should be responsible for it, and should lodge a complaint about it, and if anyone is in default, that he should undergo the Septaine.

10. Item, it was ordained that no bailiff may give judgement against the life of a man.²

11. Item, it was ordained that anyone who does not keep silence in church or after Compline, should undergo the Septaine, and he who chatters at table, should be placed upon water.

12. Item, it was ordained that no Prior or Commander may have power to give to a brother more than one bailiwick, and if he sees that it would be advantageous or it seems good to him, that he may give two, and no more.

13. Item, it was decreed that after Vespers³ have been sung, the brethren who come to supper should come to supper at the first convent, and that the Marshal should be responsible that they do come to supper at the first convent, and that he should lodge the complaint.

14. Item, it is decreed at the Chapter-General, which was held by our honourable Master Hugh Revel in the year 1274, with the consent of the brethren who were at the said chapter, that the brethren who should seat themselves on the outer side of the table, when the inner side of the table is not full, should have nothing else to eat, but bread and water; and if any eat otherwise, that his Bailiff may lodge a complaint against him, and that he should undergo the Septaine.

¹ Compare this with Para. 27 of 1262, Para. 4 of 1301, and Para. 13 of 1302, pp. 60, 110, 124. After dinner the chanted grace followed, which was concluded in the church, to which the community went in procession, during the singing of the Miserere or other psalm. See Gasquet's *English Monastic Life*, pp. 143, 144.

² Compare with this Para. 7 of 1265, p. 69, and Para. 22 of 1283, p. 86.

³ The Hour of Vespers was at five o'clock in winter, and at six in summer.

15.¹ Item, it is decreed that one may wear camlet of black or grey or of its natural colouring, and that the entire piece should not cost more than six besants,² and all other colours are forbidden.

16. Item, it is decreed that the brethren should proceed in an orderly manner when they go through the town, and that they should wear the mantle in such a manner that it cover their shoulders. And if they should not do so, that their Bailiff should lodge a complaint against them, and that they should undergo the Septaine. And if their Bailiff do not lodge a complaint, that the Master may lodge a complaint against their Bailiff.

17. Item, it is decreed that if in any country there be a brother who is a leper (mesel), that he should not wear the habit from that time forward, and that he should not come amongst the brethren, but that he should be provided with food and clothing.

18. Item, it was ordained at the Chapter-General, which was held in the year of the Incarnation 1276 by the Honourable Master Brother Hugh Revel aforesaid, that all the Bailiffs from this side the sea or from beyond, who shall come by command to the Chapter-General, should hand over their seals, and render an account of their bailiwicks.

19. Item, it is decreed that when the Donat of the House shall be made a brother, he should have a robe of the House such as he may be able to wear when he shall be made a brother, and no other, and that he should not be promenaded through the town, but should come straight from the bath to our House or to the Auberge, and that there should be no trumpets nor

¹ In the Latin version Statutes 13 and 14 are omitted, and this Statute is introduced by the words : ‘ It was decreed by the Master Hugh Revel in Chapter-General held in the year of Our Lord 1274 that, etc.’

² The price is so enormous that there must be some error here ; no price is mentioned in the Latin version.

tabors. And it should be ordained that as soon as the priest shall begin Matins, the brethren should hold their peace.

20. Item, it is ordained that one should brew nothing special, but he who would drink, should drink what is supplied, and that one should put no more ginger or electuary in it than is usual.

21. Item, it is our will and we forbid that anyone should play at dice on Christmas-eve, or at any other time.

22. Item, it is ordained that in every Priory there should be a seal, on which should be written the name of the Prior, and let it be put in a box (*huche*) or a chest (*forcier*), to which there should be four keys, one the Prior should keep, and the other three should be kept by three¹ prud'hommes of the Priory, each of them one, so that the Prior should not be able to seal anything with the said seal without the advice of the prud'hommes of the Priory.

23. Item, gold and silver have always been forbidden on daggers or swords, and again we forbid them. With ornamentation we are not concerned, but it must not be of gold or silver. Likewise we forbid gold and silver on girdles. Escutcheons gilded and silvered have been forbidden, and again we forbid them.²

24. Item, it is ordained that if any brother of the House reveal the private affairs of the House to any secular person, whether it be for reason of age or for any other reason, that a complaint should be laid against that brother, and that he should be sentenced to the Quarantine, and lose his equipment (*harneis*), and that he should not recover it without the consent of the Master.

¹ This Statute was made more stringent by the Master Elyon de Villeneuve in 1337, who laid down that the Seal of the Priory should be kept by the Prior and four prud'hommes of the Priory. See King's *Seals of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, pp. 130, 131.

² Compare this with Para. 15 of 1288, p. 91.

VIII

STATUTES OF FR. NICHOLAS LE LORGNE 1277-85

- A. *Chapter-General of 1278*
- B. *Chapter-General of 1283*

A. THE CHAPTER-GENERAL OF 1278

THESE ARE THE STATUTES WHICH WERE MADE AT ACRE AT THE CHAPTER-GENERAL WHICH WAS HELD IN THE YEAR OF THE INCARNATION 1278 ON THE FOURTH DAY OF AUGUST BY THE RELIGIOUS AND HONOURABLE BROTHER NICHOLAS LORGNE BY THE GRACE OF GOD MASTER OF THE HOSPITAL OF SAINT JOHN OF JERUSALEM.¹

1. Item, firstly it was decreed with the common consent of the Convent that a seal should be made, which seal should be in the name of the Master and Convent,² with which seal should be sealed all the deeds of gifts, which should be made in perpetuity or for life by consent of the Convent, whether to a brother or to any secular person or to any other churchman. Item, also should be sealed with this seal, all manner of sales or exchanges, which should be made by the Convent and Master in council, that is to say of property and of statutory possessions. Item, it was decreed that by the same seal should be sealed the deeds of recall (repella-

¹ The Latin version describes the Order as 'the Holy House of the Hospital', and ends with the words 'quorum una pars talis est'.

² For the design of this seal, see illustration facing p. 10.

tion) of all the Capitular Bailiffs, and all recalls of houses, which shall have been granted for the life of a brother, and all donations of houses, which they shall grant for the life of a brother with the consent of the Master and Convent.

2. Item, and it was decreed that all manner of obligations which shall be made by the Master and Convent in council, and of compositions, and of exchanges of one possession for another, and of all manner of procurations, which have any sort of value without the consent of the Master and Convent, should be sealed with the aforesaid seal. Item, it was also decreed that the said seal should be under the Master's seal and in the keeping of the Treasurer, under the seal of the Grand Commander of Acre¹ and of the Marshal and of the Hospitaller. Item, and it was decreed that upon all other things, which are not mentioned in this statute, that the Master's seal, which he had formerly, whether of lead or of wax, be also binding and obeyed, as was the case formerly.

3. CONCERNING BLACK MANTLES.—Item, it is decreed that all the brethren of the Hospital should wear black mantles with the white cross.²

4. THAT BRETHREN BE BURIED IN THEIR MANTLES.—Item, it is decreed that all the brethren, who shall have departed this life, should be buried with their mantles.

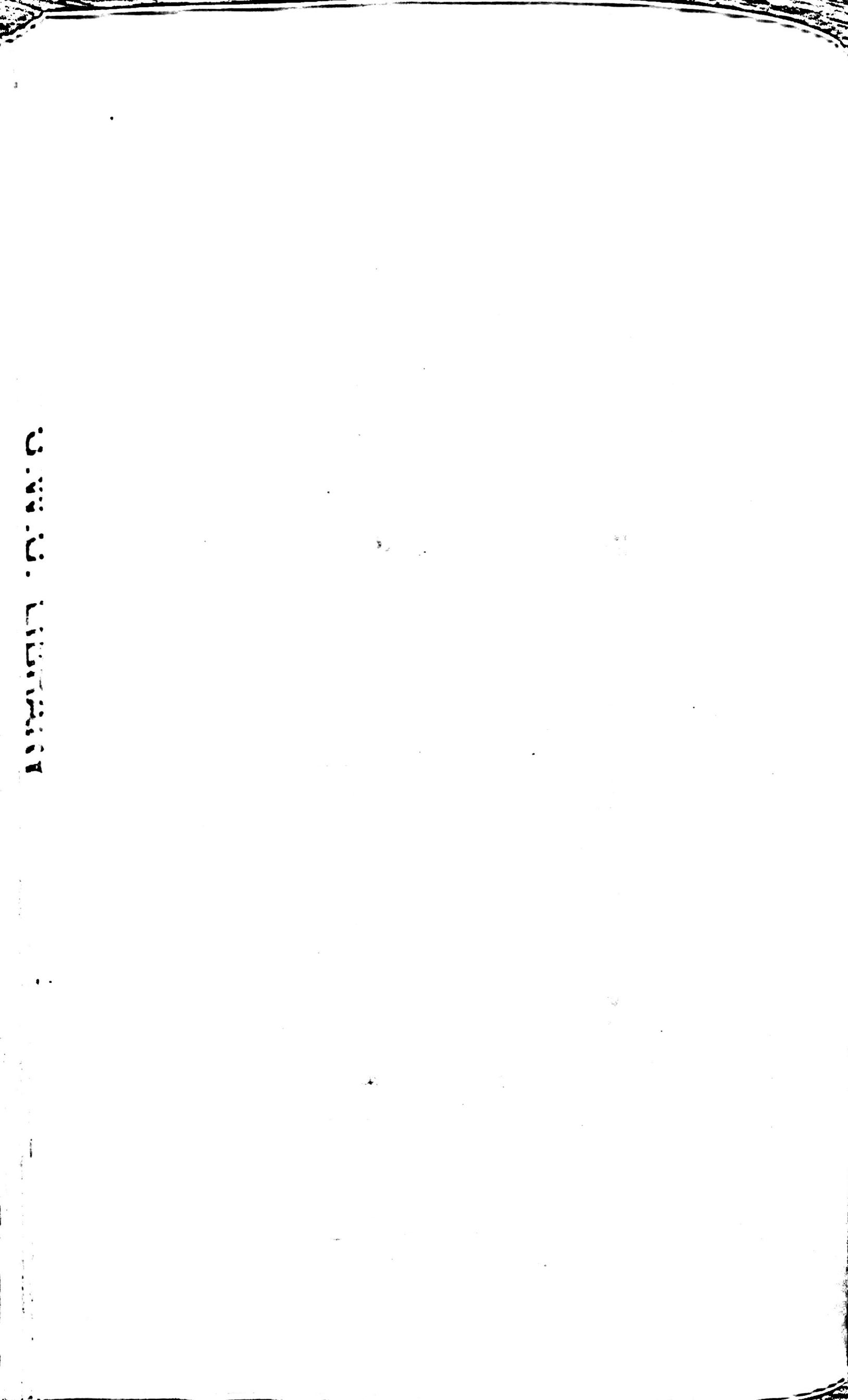
5. THAT THE BRETHREN-AT-ARMS SHOULD WEAR THE SURCOAT.—Item, it is decreed that all the brethren-at-

¹ The Grand Commander of the Order is generally spoken of as the Grand Commander of Acre, or of Limassol, or of wherever else the Convent might be stationed, to distinguish him from the Grand Commanders of France, Spain, Italy, Germany and d'outremer.

² The black mantle was originally worn by the Knights only, as is stated in the Bull of Pope Alexander IV of 1259. ‘We hereby grant to you by the authority of these presents that the Knights, who are brethren of your order, shall wear black mantles, in order that they may be distinguished from the other brethren of the said Order.’ See King’s *Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land*, p. 279.



LEADEN BULLA OF FR. NICHOLAS LE LORGNE
In the British Museum



arms of the Hospital, when armed, should wear the scarlet surcoat (jupell) with the white cross.¹

6. Item, it was decreed that from Easter to All Saints' Day, the bell should be rung on Fridays, and then the brethren should eat twice in the day, just as on other days.

7. Item, from All Saint's Day until Easter it was decreed that the brethren should fast on Fridays.

8. Item, and it was decreed that the Marshal should have a charger (cheval regnable) as his hack (roncin), and that no brother may demand this as his charger.²

B. THE CHAPTER-GENERAL OF 1283

THESE ARE THE STATUTES WHICH WERE MADE AT THE CHAPTER-GENERAL IN THE YEAR OF THE INCARNATION OF OUR LORD 1283 ON THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DAY OF THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER.³

1. HOW THE MASTER MAY GIVE BEASTS AND RETINUES TO THE ANCIENTS. Firstly, it is decreed that it be at the Master's discretion to give a retinue (mainsnée) and beasts to the ancients⁴ according to what they shall have brought to the House, and according to their seniority, and that it be on the advice of the prud'hommes who shall be about him.

2. HOW THE MASTER SHOULD AUDIT THE ACCOUNTS OF

¹ The scarlet surcoat, in later times always spoken of as the 'sopraveste', was originally worn over their armour by the Knights only, as we know from the aforementioned Bull of Pope Alexander IV: 'In war however and in battle they (i.e. the Knights) shall wear jupons and other military surcoats, which shall be of red colour, having sewn upon them a white cross, exactly as upon your Standard.' Previously they had worn over their armour the black monastic cappa clausa, with the eight-pointed cross upon the breast, as we know from the Bull of Pope Innocent IV of 1248. See King's *Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land*, pp. 276, 298.

² Compare this with Para. 4 of 1268, p. 72.

³ The Latin version gives the name of the Master Nicholas le Lorgne, and ends with the words 'Sequitur pars secunda'.

⁴ The 'Ancients' are the brethren of twenty years' service. See Para. 4 of 1288, p. 89.

THE TREASURY.—Item, that the Master is bound to audit each month the accounts of the Treasury with a certain number of brethren prud'hommes taken in common.¹ And that if he cannot be present he must appoint the Grand Commander in his place or some other prud'homme, as shall seem good to him.

3. WHAT COLOUR SILK A BROTHER MAY WEAR.—Item, it is decreed that the brethren may not wear coloured silk, except black and white, and when in armour scarlet; the brethren are forbidden to wear on their persons embroidering (brondeures) and stitching (racameures) of gold and silver thread.

4. WHAT PUNISHMENT STATUTES NOT IN THE RULE IMPOSE.—Item, it is decreed that all the Statutes, which are not included in the Rule,² may carry liability to corporal punishment, but not to spiritual punishment.

5. CONCERNING REVOCATION OF CUSTOMS AND GRANTS WHICH ARE NOT CONFIRMED UNDER THE MASTER'S SEAL.—Item, it is decreed that all manner of customs grants franchises and contributions, which have been made on the Treasuries of Acre, of Margat, of Cyprus, of Armenia and of Tripolis, and which are not confirmed under the Master's seal, be revoked and invalid, and from henceforward none such shall be given or made.

6. CONCERNING REVOCATION OF HERITAGES WHICH WERE GRANTED AS PAYMENT IN KIND.—Item, it is decreed that all manner of heritages, which have been granted as payment in kind (*à ensensive*), which have been to the detriment of the House, should be revoked, if they are not confirmed under the Master's seal, that is to say on this side the sea.

7. WHAT BRETHREN MAY POSSESS THE RULE.—Item, it is decreed that no brother may possess the Rule or the

¹ The Latin version here reads 'cum quadam fratrum et procerum quantitate omnium communiter lingarum', i.e. with one or more representatives from each of the seven tongues.

² By the word 'Rule' is always meant the 'Rule of Raymond du Puy'.

Statutes, unless he have authority over the brethren, or have the Master's permission. And whoever shall act to the contrary, and complaint be made of it, shall undergo the Quarantaine.

8. THAT THE RULE AND THE STATUTES BE NOT LEFT IN THE HANDS OF SECULAR PERSONS.—Item, it is decreed that whoever shall find the Rule or the Statutes in the hands of secular persons shall take them away, and that no brother may give them to any secular person to copy without permission. And whoever shall do it, and complaint be made of it, shall undergo the Quarantine.

9. THESE ARE THE OCCASIONS ON WHICH THE BRETHREN LOSE THE COMPANY OF THE HOUSE, IF FOUND GUILTY, AND WITHOUT FORGIVENESS.—The occasions on which the brethren lose the habit are these: firstly if they are in heresy. Item, if they go over to the Saracens. Item, if they are proved guilty of sodomy.

10. CONCERNING THE SAME.—Item, if he desert the Standard (gonfanon), and the brethren of the House, in battle with the Saracens.

11. CONCERNING THE SAME.—Item, whoever surrenders a castle to the Saracens without permission of his superior (soveirain), and all those advising that it be done, shall lose the habit. Always it must be done (i.e. the surrender) with the knowledge of the Master and the prud'hommes.

12. CONCERNING THE SAME.—Item, whosoever shall leave a castle in the marches of the Saracens in any other way than by the gate.¹ Item, whoever shall leave the company of the House three times of his own free will, let him have permission to enter another Religion, and let him be unable to recover our habit.²

¹ Compare with this, *Judgements and Customs*, Para. 52, p. 163. ‘Also if two or more brethren shall leave a castle in the marches of paganism, after Compline is said, and the gate is shut, and may be discovered together, let them lose their habits.’

² Compare this with Para. 17 of 1288, p. 91.

plaint, that he may reserve it until the third chapter, and at each of these chapters he must mention his complaint.

18. HOW WHEN A CHARGE IS BROUGHT THE MASTER MAY RESERVE THE COMPLAINT UNTIL AFTER THE NEXT CHAPTER.—Item, it is decreed that if any Capitular Bailiff be recalled by Chapter-General, when he shall have come into the presence of the Master, and the Master and prud'hommes shall have been given to understand that the said Bailiff has done anything for which he should lose his habit, and the Master be not sufficiently well-informed to proceed with the complaint, that he may reserve the complaint until the next chapter-general following.

19. CONCERNING THOSE TO WHOM THE BRETHREN MAY BE GODFATHERS.—Item, it is decreed that no brother this side the sea nor beyond may be godfather to any person, unless he be a banneret or of higher degree, and that by permission of their superior (soveirain).

20. THAT A BROTHER MAY NOT WEAR ARMOUR IN THE HOUSE WHERE THE ELECTION OF THE MASTER IS TO TAKE PLACE.—It is decreed that from the death of the Master until the day that another Master shall be elected, no brother should wear any sort of armour within the precincts of the House where the election is to be held. And if any brother shall act contrary to this statute and this prohibition, let him lose his vote in the chapter and the election. And if a complaint be lodged, let him lose his habit.

21. THAT A BAILIFF UNDER RECALL, IF HE BE DETAINED BY ANY LORD, MUST SEND HIS PASSAGE.—Item, it is decreed that if any Bailiff be recalled by the Master and Convent, and any Prince having need of him detain him, or do not permit him to respond to his recall, the said Bailiff should be held to send the whole of his passage¹ of

¹ The voyages to the Holy Land were made in the spring and autumn, and were in consequence known as the Spring and Autumn Passages. If a Prior called up for a tour of duty at the Convent,

beasts, of money, of equipment (arnois) and of other stores, as much as was taken at his coming by the Bailiff of that same bailiwick before him. And the Master and the Convent may if they wish make another Bailiff (i.e. in his place).

22. A BROTHER PRIEST MAY NOT HAVE A BAILIWICK INVOLVING SENTENCES OF BLOOD.—It is decreed that in no bailiwick carrying the right of inflicting sentences (justices) of blood (i.e. death sentences) should a brother priest be Bailiff.¹

23. CONCERNING THE LIVERY ROBES THAT THE BRETHREN TAKE.—Item, it is decreed that whatsoever brother should take a livery robe (roube de lievrason) in winter, he may wear no other robe that winter so long as it will last. And if he take it in summer, he may wear no other robe that summer. And if anyone shall wear such contrary to this prohibition, let him lose his robe. And if a complaint be lodged, let him undergo the Quarantaine. Excepting the two mantles² which we desire should be as heretofore.

24. THAT A BAILIWICK BE NOT GIVEN TO A BROTHER NOT RESIDING THERE.—Item, it is decreed that no Bailiff beyond the sea, nor other Capitular Bailiff this side the sea, may grant a bailiwick in his Priory to a brother, who is not resident in the said bailiwick or priory, unless by chance he should have been sent away on some commission by the will of his superior (soveirain), from

were prevented from going by his feudal lord, he must none the less send out the horses, money and stores that he would have taken with him. At a later date the term Passages is used of the sum of money paid by a brother on his admission to the Order, being the sum originally paid to the shipowner conducting him to the Convent at Acre or Rhodes. See Boisgelin's *Ancient and Modern Malta*, Vol. I, p. 219, and Porter's *Knights of Malta*, Vol. II, p. 215.

¹ Compare with this Para. 7 of 1265, p. 22, and Para. 10 of 1270, pp. 69, 76.

² The two mantles are the 'deux manteaux une à penne et autre sans penne' of the Statutes of Margat, Para. 9, p. 48.

which commission of his superior he should or may return within a year.

25. CONCERNING EATING MEAT AT SEA DURING THE LENT OF SAINT MARTIN.—Item, it is decreed that the brethren, who shall be at sea, during the Lent (karesme) of St. Martin,¹ may at their own free will eat meat every day, except Fridays.

26. THAT A BAILIWICK MAY NOT BE GRANTED BEYOND ONE YEAR.—Item, it is decreed that no Bailiff may be made for more than one year for any bailiwick, for which Chapter-General should appoint, but the Master may put someone there in his place, with the advice of the brethren, such a one as shall seem to them suitable.

¹ The season of Advent used to begin in the Western Church on St. Martin's Day (November 11th), and the period up to Christmas was the Lent of St. Martin.

IX

STATUTES OF FR. JOHN DE VILLIERS 1285-94

- A. *Chapter-General of 1288*
- B. *Chapter-General of 1292*
- C. *Chapter-General of 1293*

A. THE CHAPTER-GENERAL OF 1288

THESE ARE THE STATUTES MADE AT THE CHAPTER-GENERAL BY THE RELIGIOUS BROTHER JOHN DE VILLIERS BY THE GRACE OF GOD MASTER OF THE HOSPITAL OF SAINT JOHN OF JERUSALEM WHICH WAS HELD AT ACRE IN THE YEAR OF THE INCARNATION 1288 ON THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DAY OF THE MONTH OF OCTOBER.¹

i. Firstly we decree that all the escheats (escheces) which escheat this side the sea, whether by the death of the Master, or of a Bailiff or of a brother, or by the legacies of any secular person, whatsoever it may be, in coin (deniers monées), in gold, in silver and in metal (plate), must come to the Treasury. But the plate (vaisselement) and the jewels of the deceased Master should be for the new Master, who shall come after him. And the plate of the Bailiffs, who shall die this side the sea, and of those who shall have been Bailiffs, should come into the hands of the Master ; that of the brethren of the Convent should come to the Marshal,

¹ The Latin version ends with the words : 'prima pars incipit et est talis'.

and that of the brethren-at-office into the hands of their Bailiff. And if any brother of the Convent is in office under the (Grand) Commander, if the said brother die, his jewels should come to the Commander, and his armour to the Marshal.

2. Item, it is decreed etc., identical with Para. 2 of the Statutes of 1283.

3. Item, it is decreed that henceforward the Marshal shall keep in his hands the casale of Mesara¹ with all its appurtenances, and that for the future he shall take no wine candles nor money, from the Treasury for his chamber.

4. Item, it is decreed that the Bailiffs (i.e. Capitular Bailiffs), and those who have been Bailiffs, and the Companions of the Master, and those who have been companions, and those who have been in our Religion for as long as twenty years, may eat without special leave at the table of the Infirmary, after giving notice to the Infirmarian, and if they do not do so, the Infirmarian is not bound to serve them.²

5. Item, that no Bailiff this side the sea may give away from the House a horse or other mount (chevaucheure), from whatever place it may come, without the permission of the Master. And the Master should take counsel about giving permission.

6. Item, it is decreed that the brethren may wear a mantle folding entirely round of black cloth, unless dyed brown, and may wear it of brown camlet, which may have a collar (gorgiere), and should be open in front with buttons of the same cloth, and beyond the seas entirely fastened, and let it have the cross in front.³

7. Long coats (hargans) and short tunics (cotes hardies)

¹ Mesara, otherwise El Mezraah, in the neighbourhood of Nazareth, a little to the north of El Fouleh.

² These are the brethren referred to so frequently in the early Statutes as 'prud'hommes' and 'ancients'.

³ The Latin version reads : 'Statutum est quod fratres possint portare mantellos pluvie rotundos, pani nigri, apertos ante cisos cum botonibus illius pani ; ultra mare autem omnes clausos cum cruce alba ante ; et qui capos ferre voluerint, illos valeant asportare.'

are forbidden. And he who would wear a cassock (chapes), may wear it.¹

8. Item, that all armour, which escheats at the death of brethren, or of those who depart from this country, or which escheats from any cause, should be placed in charge of a brother, who should be appointed for the purpose by the Marshal ; which brother should set down in writing what he receives, and what he gives out at the command of the Marshal ; and those who would refit from this equipment (harnois), may make an exchange, and have it. The cross-bows (arbalestres) which come in, should be placed in the Treasury.

9. Item, that no brother may drink without permission outside the Hall (palais), except in the dormitory of the Auberge, in the chamber of the Master and Bailiffs, and of those who have been Bailiffs.

10. Item, that no one may have an iron lantern carried, nor a chest (forcier), without permission, unless he be a Bailiff, or those who have been Bailiffs, and the Companions of the Master at the head (en chevetaine) of an Auberge.²

11. Item, it is decreed etc., identical with Para. 4 of the Statutes of 1283.

12. Item, it is decreed etc., identical with Para. 25 of the Statutes of 1283.

13. Item, that a brother etc., identical with Para. 23 of the Statutes of 1283.

14. Item, it is decreed that no brother, who has slain another, may recover the company of the House without the permission of the Master and of the Chapter this side the sea ; and if he can be taken, he should be kept in prison until the orders of the Master.

¹ The Latin version reads : ‘Item cotlehardies vulgariter appellate cum punctis sunt prohibite.’ The côte-hardi with points is a short tight-fitting tunic with the edge round the bottom indented. We find the hargans, or long coats, again mentioned in Para. 7 of 1300, and Para. 1 of 1305, pp. 103, 136.

² The meaning of this last phrase is not clear.

15. Item, it is forbidden that a brother should wear gold or silver on his sword or on his dagger (cotel), or on other equipment (harnois) unless he first show it to the Master or to his Bailiff. But with ornamentation we are not concerned.¹

16. Item, it is decreed etc., identical with Para. 3 of the Statutes of 1283.

17. Item, it is decreed that a brother, who henceforth shall leave the House three times of his own free will, may not recover the habit, and let him be given permission to enter into some other Religion, if he should desire it.²

18. Item, it is decreed that any Bailiff, who shall come to the Chapter, should leave his bailiwick furnished with wine wheat and barley up to the New Year.

19. Item, it is decreed etc., identical with para. 20 of the Statutes of 1283.

20. Item, it is decreed that if any brother, bailiff or otherwise, shall have any thing of the alms of the House, and if he would purchase any heritage with the said goods, that the said heritage be granted to him by the Master and Convent, and that his Bailiff may not take it from him by sentence (justice) of the Quarantaine.³ But the Bailiff must make known his offence to the Master⁴ and Convent, who shall do to him as shall seem to them fitting. And if the said brother shall hold a house from the Bailiff, and shall make default of his Responsion, and shall be unable to pay, nor to show any good reason for it, then the aforesaid Bailiff may pay himself from the rents and other things of the aforesaid heritage. And if he, who shall have bought the heritage in the manner aforesaid, die, then the Bailiff

¹ Compare this with Para. 23 of 1270, p. 78.

² Compare this with Para. 12 of 1283, p. 83.

³ A brother sentenced to the Quarantaine would automatically forfeit his bailiwick, unless this part of his sentence were remitted. See *Judgements and Customs*, Para. 91, p. 177.

⁴ The remainder of this clause, and the two subsequent clauses, with their rubrics, are taken from another MS.

with the advice of his chapter may place a fixed Response upon the aforesaid heritage.

21. TO WHOM SHOULD ESCHEAT THE GOODS OF BRETHREN WHO HOLD BAILIWICKS BEYOND THE SEA OF THE CHAPTER OR ARE IN THE MASTER'S CHAMBERS.—Item, it is decreed that if there are any bailiwicks beyond the sea granted to brethren on the part of the Master or on the part of the Chapter, that the goods of the brethren after their decease should come into the hands of their Priors, except in the case of those in charge of the special chambers of the Master.¹

22. WHEN THE HOUSE GRANTED TO A BROTHER SHOULD BE DELIVERED UP: IN WHAT CONDITION THE HOLDER SHOULD HAND IT OVER.—Item, it is decreed that all the houses, which shall be granted by the Master and Convent to any of their brethren for life or for a fixed term, that the bailiwick should not be delivered up to the said brother until the chapter-general of the Priory coming after the letters, making the said grant, shall be presented. And that brother who formerly shall have held the baliwick, should hand it over in the same condition or better, as it was delivered up to him. And the brother to whom it has been delivered up, should act in the same manner.

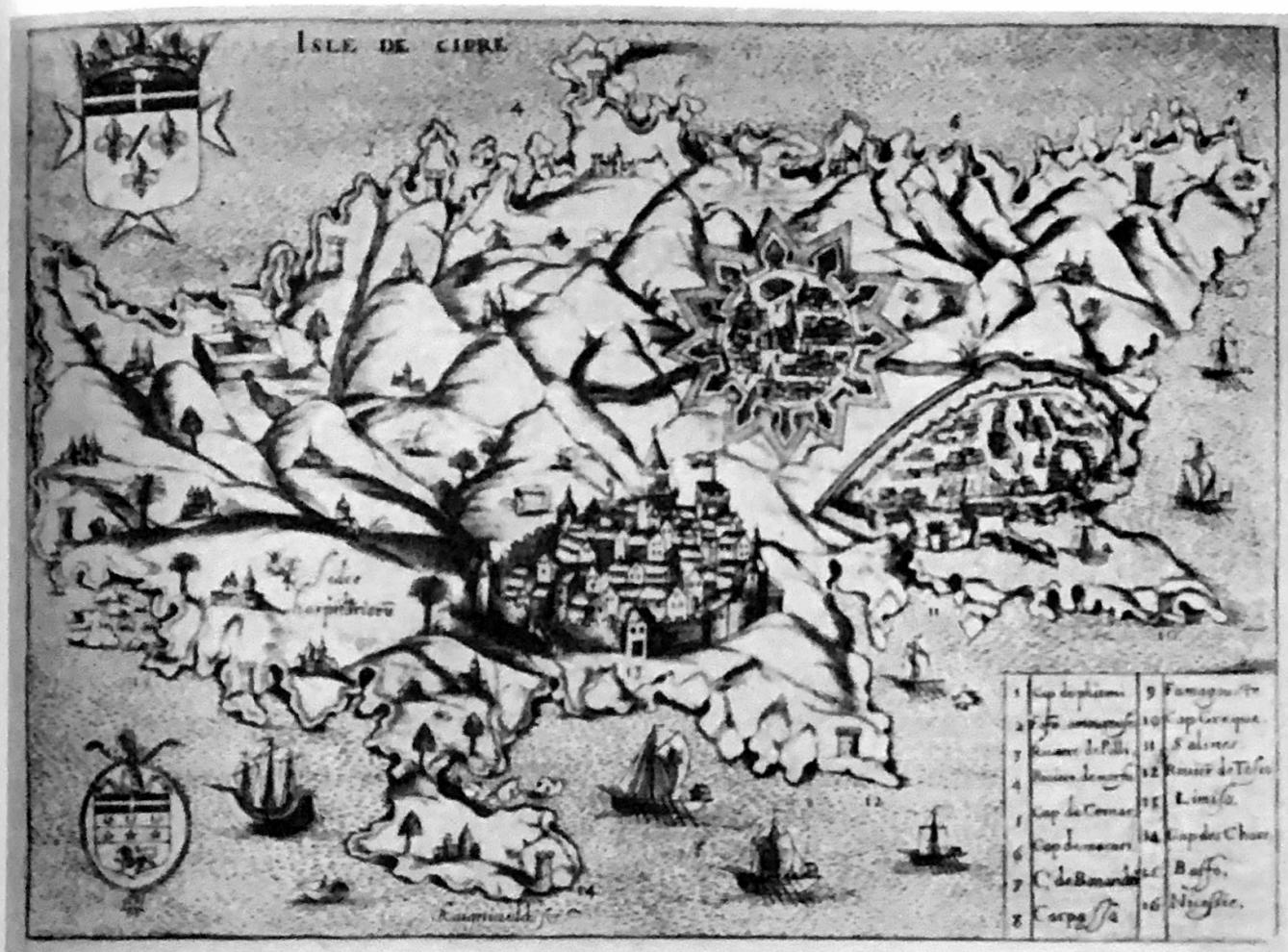
B. THE CHAPTER-GENERAL OF 1292

THESE ARE THE STATUTES WHICH WERE MADE AT THE CHAPTER-GENERAL HELD AT LIMASSOL IN THE YEAR OF THE INCARNATION OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST 1292 ON THE EIGHTH DAY OF OCTOBER.²

1. CONCERNING TURKISH SADDLES: HOW A BROTHER KNIGHT MAY USE THEM AND HOW NOT.—Firstly it is decreed that a brother knight may not ride on a Turkish saddle other than one covered with white or black

¹ In every Priory the Master possessed one Commandery known as the Master's Chamber, or the Camera Magistralis.

² The Latin version gives the name of the Master John de Villiers, and ends with the words 'sequitur pars secunda'.



CYPRUS AND THE TOWN OF LIMISSO (LIMASSOL)
From Baudoin's 'Histoire de Malthe'



leather, and that no brother may ride on a Turkish saddle not so covered.

2. HOW NO ONE MAY MAKE A KNIGHT OR GENTLEMAN DONAT WITHOUT THE MASTER'S PERMISSION, EXCEPT IN SPAIN.—Item, it is decreed that forasmuch as some Priories are too crowded with brother knights and donats, it is decreed that no one may make a brother knight nor receive a gentleman as donat¹ without the special order of the Master, except in Spain, where there is a frontier against the Saracens, that there they may make as many as shall be necessary. And except that the Grand Commander d'outremer² may grant a license for it where he shall see that there shall be need.

3. HOW MANY BEASTS THE GRAND COMMANDER AND THE OTHER BAILIFFS IN CYPRUS SHOULD HAVE.—Item, it is decreed that the Capitular Bailiffs should each have three beasts, except the Grand Commander of Cyprus, who may have more at the discretion of the Master, if it be necessary.³

C. THE CHAPTER-GENERAL OF 1293

THESE ARE THE STATUTES WHICH WERE ORDAINED AT THE CHAPTER-GENERAL HELD AT LIMASSOL IN THE YEAR OF THE INCARNATION OF OUR LORD 1293 ON THE TWENTIETH DAY OF OCTOBER.⁴

1. THAT PLATES BE NOT RIVETED ON CLOTH OF GOLD NOR ON SILK.—Firstly, it is decreed that brethren henceforward should not have plates⁵ riveted nor put upon

¹ The French version has 'gentill home' and the Latin version 'nobilem homineri'.

² The Grand Commander d'outremer was the representative of the Master in Europe; his usual residence was in Provence. See King's *Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land*, p. 80.

³ Compare this with Para. 10 of 1302, p. 123.

⁴ The Latin version gives the name of the Master the Most Reverend Lord John de Villiers, and ends with the words 'tertia pars incipit et est talis'.

⁵ Small metal plates were riveted on to cloth or leather to form a pliable defence sometimes called splinted armour, and known

cloth of gold nor on silk. And what has been done may remain.

2. HOW AND WHEN A BROTHER MAY SELL A BEAST.—Item, it is decreed that no bailiff nor brother may sell a beast, of which it is possible for a brother to make use. And if it be a case of selling a worn-out beast, of which a brother cannot make use, that the said beast should be sold by the advice of the brethren of all the Tongues, and that the money should be handed over entirely to the Treasury.

3. WHEN A BROTHER MAY SUMMON A WITNESS FROM THIS SIDE THE SEA OR BEYOND.—Item, it is decreed that whosoever would lodge a complaint against any brother or demand Esgart for anything, that the brother may summon witnesses (garens) up to six brethren of those who shall be this side the sea. And if he would summon witnesses of those beyond the sea, that it should be at the discretion of those who shall be at the Esgart, whether the witnesses from beyond the sea should be heard, considering on their conscience whether he will summon the witnesses of necessity or of naughtiness (malice). And if it seem to those of the Esgart or to the greater part that it be of naughtiness, let them not be heard nor questioned.

4. HOW THOSE OF THE ESGART SHOULD EXAMINE THE WITNESSES THAT THE BRETHREN SUMMON.—Item, it is decreed that in all cases where witnesses (garerenties) have been summoned or sent, before the witnesses have been either heard or questioned together, that each one by himself should declare the truth of that which shall be asked him in the presence of the Esgart and of the parties. And he who shall examine the witnesses, that

somewhat later as a Brigandine. ‘The Brigandine was made of small plates of iron or steel overlapping upwards and riveted on to a canvas-lined garment of silk or velvet. The plates were worn on the inside in most cases, and the rivet heads which showed on the silk or velvet face were often gilded, thus producing a very brilliant effect.’ Ffoulke’s *Armour and Weapons*, p. 33.

he be bound to ask the day and the place where the words or the act happened, of which they are witnesses.

5. WHAT EQUIPMENT A BROTHER SHOULD BRING, WHO COMES FROM BEYOND THE SEA, OR THAT HE BE SENT BACK AGAIN.—Item, it is decreed that all the brother knights, who shall come from beyond the sea, should bring with them all their equipment (arnois) complete, that is to say three beasts¹; and he who shall bring less, that the said brother be taken and sent back beyond the sea.

6. CONCERNING BRETHREN WHO DIE IN DEBT, THAT THE DEBTS BE PAID FROM THEIR MOVABLE GOODS, AND HOW THE BALANCE SHOULD BE DISTRIBUTED.—Item, it is decreed that if any bailiff or other brother, who shall depart this life, should be in debt, that the debts should be paid from the movable goods of the said bailiff or brother deceased. And if there shall then be still remaining any oxen cows sheep or any other small beasts or mares, or any sort of food-stuff, that half of it should belong to the bailiwick, and the other half to the Prior.

7. WHAT PART OF THE STATUTES SHOULD BE READ AT ALL CHAPTERS HELD DURING THE YEAR.—It is decreed that at all the chapters that the Master, or whoever shall be in his place, shall hold during the year, that a part of the Statutes should be read as much as shall be pleasing to the Master or to whoever shall be in his place.

¹ Paras. 10 and 11 of the Statutes of Margat, pp. 48, 49, give the Knight four beasts, but probably this is an error for three. The number was reduced to two in Para. 14 of 1302, p. 125. As regards the value of a Knight's equipment see Para. 26 bis of 1262, and Para. 7 of 1303, pp. 60, 129.

X

STATUTES OF FR. ODO DES PINS
1294-6

- A. *Chapter-General of 1294*
B. *Chapter-General of 1295*

A. THE CHAPTER-GENERAL OF 1294

THESE ARE THE STATUTES ORDAINED AT THE CHAPTER-GENERAL BY THE RELIGIOUS MASTER ODO DES PINS IN THE YEAR OF THE INCARNATION 1294 ON THE LAST DAY OF SEPTEMBER.¹

I. CONCERNING THE NUMBER OF BEASTS THAT SHOULD BE KEPT BY ALL THE PRIORS AND (GRAND) COMMANDERS BEYOND THE SEAS.—Firstly, it is decreed that the Grand Commander (d'outremer), when he journeys by land, should take with him 18 beasts and no more.

Item, the Grand Commander of Spain,² when he journeys through his commandery, should not take more than 20 beasts, except when he shall be on the frontiers of the Saracens, or there be war in the land, that it be at his discretion to take more.

¹ The Latin version states that the Chapter-General was held at Limassol, and after the Master's name adds 'magistrum sacre domus Hospitalis, de consilio procerum conventus'; it ends with the words 'incipit pars prima'.

² The Grand Commanders of Spain, Italy and Germany were the Lieutenants of the Master in their respective countries, and when these appointments were filled the Grand Commander d'outremer would exercise authority only in France and England.

Item, the Grand Commander of Italy should take 12 beasts, and no more.

Item, the Grand Commander of Germany should not take in his company more than belong to the Priory of Germany, namely 10 beasts, and no more. And when he journeys through the other Priories in places perilous, that it be at his discretion to take more.

The Prior of St. Gilles should not take more than 12 beasts.

Item, the Prior of Auvergne, 10 beasts.

Item, the Prior of France, 13 beasts.

Item, the Prior of England, 14 beasts.

Item, the Prior of Ireland, 7 beasts.

Item, the Prior of Portugal, 8 beasts.

Item, the Prior of Castille, 16 beasts.

Item, the Prior of Navarre, 6 beasts.

Item, the Castellan of Amposta, 10 beasts.

Item, the Prior of Lombardy, 5 beasts.

Item, the Prior of Pisa, 6 beasts.

Item, the Prior of Venice, 7 beasts.

Item, the Prior of Rome, 6 beasts.

Item, the Prior of Barletta, 12 beasts.

Item, the Prior of Messina, 8 beasts.¹

Item, the Commander of St. Euphemia, 6 beasts.

Item, the Prior of Germany, 10 beasts.

Item, the Prior of Poland, 8 beasts.

Item, the Prior of Bohemia, 8 beasts.

Item, the Prior of Denmark, 8 beasts.

Item, the Commander of the Morea, 5 beasts.

Moreover we forbid that any of the Bailiffs above written should make a habit of taking more beasts, than

¹ The Latin version omits the Prior of Messina, but adds to the list the Prior of Capua with 7 beasts, it calls the Prior of Bohemia the Prior of Starliche, and calls Denmark Danemarche, instead of Dacia, as was later the custom. For a note on this list of Priories see p. 100.

has been above ordained, excepting only when war has broken out in the land, or for some other obvious necessity. And if for these reasons it seems convenient to them to take more beasts, that they may do it with the advice of the prud'hommes of their bailiwick.

2. CONCERNING LEGACIES MADE TO THE TREASURY.— Item, it is decreed that if anyone make a will and leave anything specifically to the Treasury, it should go to the Treasury.

3. THAT A BROTHER MAY NOT TAKE BEYOND THE SEA COFFERS OR CHESTS.— Item, it is decreed that no brother should take beyond the sea, coffers (coufres) or chests (forciers) or pack-animals, except Capitular Bailiffs on this side the sea, without permission of the Master.

4. THAT THE BAILIFFS RECALLED THIS SIDE THE SEA BRING SOME ORNAMENT TO THEIR MOTHER CHURCH.— Item, it is decreed that the Capitular Bailiffs, who shall be recalled to come this side the sea, that they bring with them some ornament for the mother church of the Hospital, that is to say there where the chief of the House shall be.¹

5. CONCERNING ALL CAPITULAR BAILIFFS WHO SHALL DEPART THIS LIFE.— Item, it is decreed that of all the Capitular Bailiffs, who shall depart this life, all their ornaments that shall be found, except gold or silver or stones, should go to the mother church of the Hospital, that is to say there where the chief of the House shall be.

6. HOW EVERY SATURDAY IN THE YEAR NINE LECTIONS OF OUR LADY SHOULD BE READ.— Item, that every Saturday in the year there should be read nine lections of Our Lady, except during Advent and in Lent, and from Easter to Whitsuntide, and except the festivals of nine lections, and the octaves of festivals, and the vigils, and (the fast days of) the four seasons.

¹ The Mother Church was, with the Master and Convent, temporarily established at Limassol, its treasures had all been destroyed at the sack of Acre three years before, which made this Statute very necessary.

B. THE CHAPTER-GENERAL OF 1295

THESE ARE THE STATUTES MADE AND ORDAINED AT THE CHAPTER-GENERAL WHICH WAS HELD AT LIMASSOL BY THE RELIGIOUS BROTHER ODO DES PINS IN THE YEAR OF THE INCARNATION OF OUR LORD 1295 ON THE TWELFTH DAY OF SEPTEMBER.¹

1. CONCERNING NOT WEARING AN EMBROIDERED TURBAN OR OREILLET.²—Firstly it is decreed that the brethren may not wear embroidered turbans,³ nor have anything on their hair of any other colour than white, nor an oreillet (aureillier), if it be not covered with white.

2. HOW A PURCHASE OR ACQUISITION THAT A BROTHER MAKES IS ALLOWED HIM FOR LIFE AND MAY NOT BE ALIENATED NOR SUBJECTED TO ANY LORD.—Item, whereas it is decreed that if any brother make any purchase or any acquisition, he is allowed it all his life by the Master and Convent. It is further decreed that if any brother make any purchase or any acquisition, that the brother may not sell it nor mortgage it nor alienate it, without the special permission of the Master and Convent. And if the purchase be free and without charge (amorti), that the brother making the purchase or acquisition, may not subject it to any lord, without the special permission of the Master and Convent.

¹ The Latin version ends with the words ‘ sequitur pars secunda ’.

² Oreillet is explained in the Oxford Dictionary as ‘ a head-dress covering the ears ; a covering or defence for the ears ; the ear-piece of a helmet ’. Also see Holland’s *Plutarch’s Morals* (1603) ‘ that children should have certain aurielets or bolsters to hang about their ears for their defence ’.

³ The French version has ‘ toaillon racamé ’, the Latin version ‘ tovallorum serico operatum ’.

NOTE

ON THE PRIORIES OF 1294

The list of Priories given in the Statutes of 1294 is of the greatest interest, because it is the earliest list that we possess. The Latin version omits the Priory of Messina, but adds the Priory of Capua, bringing the total number up to twenty. There is no mention of the Priory of Constantinople, which we know had once existed.¹ After the absorption of the estates of the unfortunate Templars, four new Priories were added to the list, namely Toulouse, Aquitaine, Champagne and Catalonia, and these were the only additions ever made until the creation of the short-lived Priories of Poland and Bavaria at the end of the eighteenth century. The Priories are grouped under the four original Tongues, French, Spanish, Italian and German, which causes England and Ireland to be grouped with the French Tongues, and the order in which they are given differs entirely from later precedence. But it is interesting to notice that Auvergne even at this early date has precedence over France, as it always had throughout the history of the Order, in spite of the fact that the Priory of France was founded fifty years before that of Auvergne. It is curious that Poland should take the place of Hungary in the list, both in the French and Latin versions, since all subsequent lists include Hungary and exclude Poland whose commanderies until 1774 were administered by the Priors of Bohemia. The Commanders of St. Euphemia and the Morea are included because they are Capitular Bailiffs, ranking with the Priors, as was also the Commander of the Holy Trinity of Venusia, when it came into the possession of the Hospitallers three years later.² The far more important Commanders of Cyprus and Armenia are naturally omitted, since they are 'this side the sea' and not d'outremer.

¹ The Priory of Constantinople is mentioned in Statute 9 of 1181, p. 37. It probably ceased to exist in 1261, when the Emperor Michael Palaeologos drove out the last of the Latin Emperors.

² See Para. 2 of 1301, footnote, p. 110.

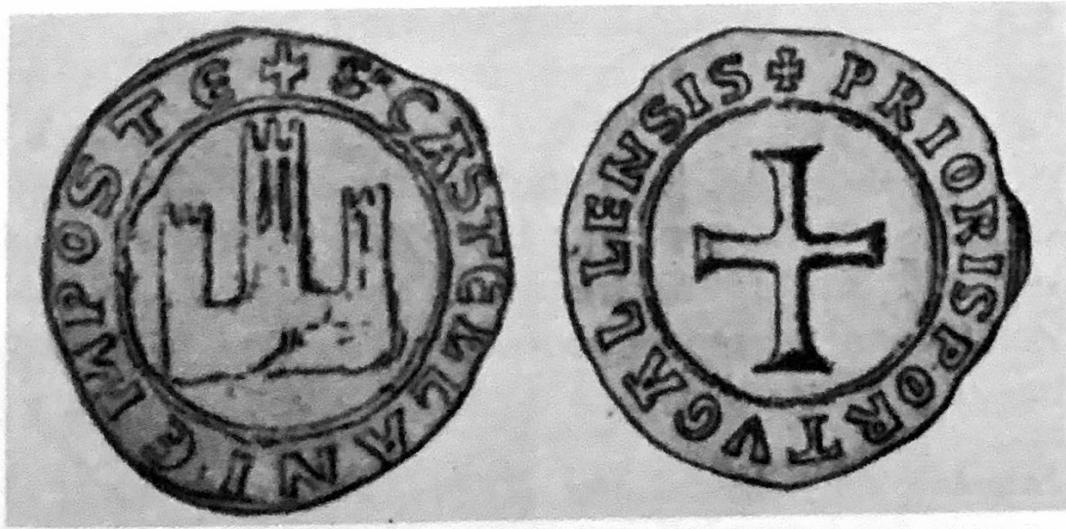


ST. GILLES (PROVENCE)

FRANCE



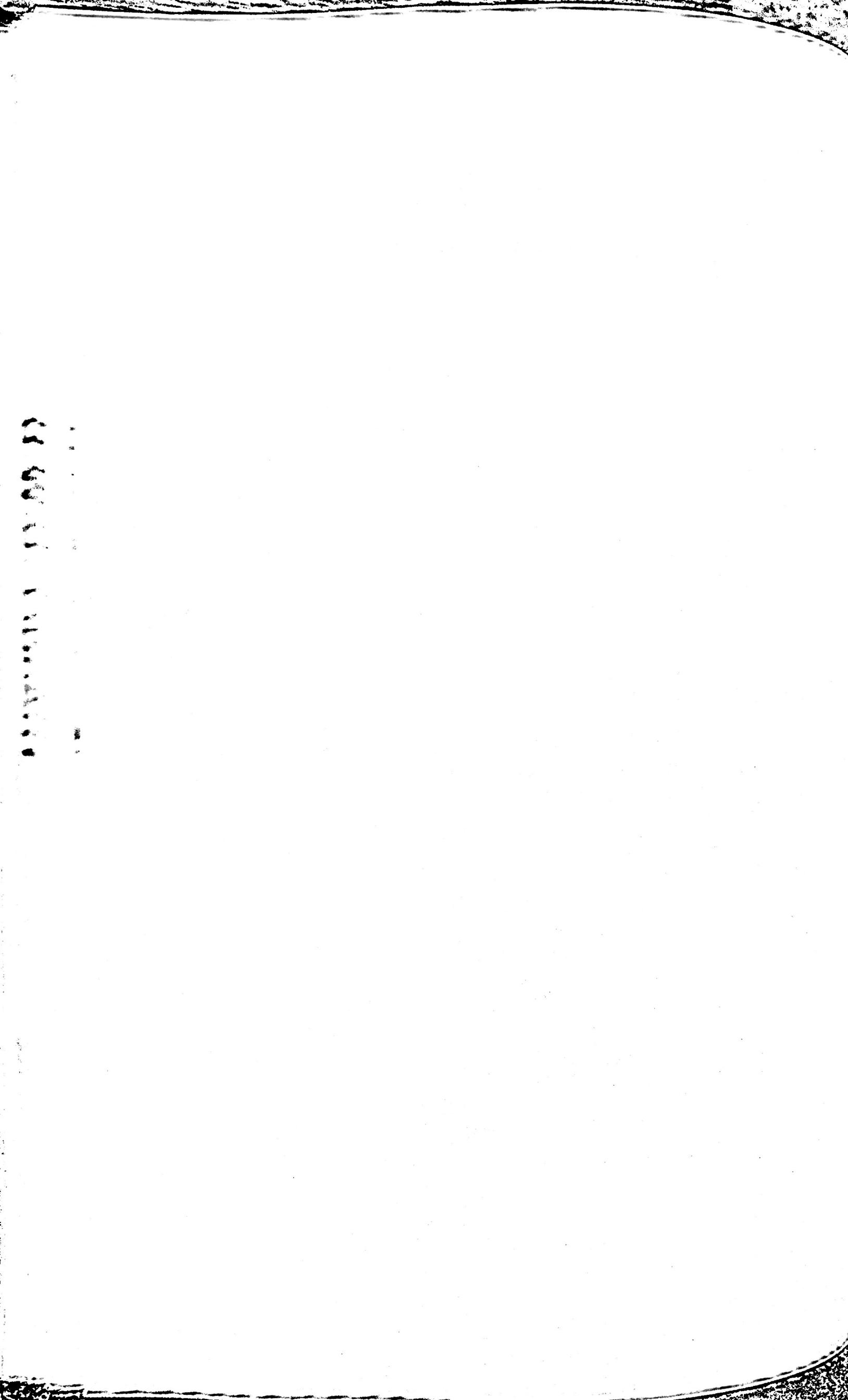
ENGLAND



AMPOSTA (ARAGON)

PORUGAL

SEALS OF THE PRIORIES



X I

STATUTES OF FR. WILLIAM DE VILLARET 1296-1305

- A. *Chapter-General of 1300*
- B. *Chapter-General of 1301*
- C. *Chapter-General of 1302*
- D. *Chapter-General of 1303*
- E. *Chapter-General of 1304*

A. THE CHAPTER-GENERAL OF 1300

THESE ARE THE STATUTES MADE AND ORDAINED AT THE CHAPTER-GENERAL HELD AT LIMASSOL BY THE RELIGIOUS BROTHER WILLIAM DE VILLARET, BY THE GRACE OF GOD HONOURABLE MASTER OF THE HOLY HOUSE OF THE HOSPITAL OF SAINT JOHN OF JERUSALEM, IN THE YEAR OF THE INCARNATION OF OUR LORD 1300, ON THE FIFTH DAY OF THE MONTH OF NOVEMBER.¹

I. HOW NINE LECTIONS OF SAINT JOHN BAPTIST SHOULD BE READ.—Firstly, it is decreed that there should be read nine lections of St. John Baptist our patron, once in each week on a day which is not a festival, and which has its own lectionary of nine lections or of three, or

¹ The Latin version reads: ‘The statutes made and ordained in Chapter-General by the Venerable and Religious Lord William de Villaret, Master of the Holy House of the Hospital, with the advice of the prud’hommes of the Convent, held at Limassol in the year etc.’, and terminates with the words ‘prima pars talis est’.

which is a vigil, or (the fast days of) the four seasons, and except from Advent to Whitsuntide.

2. HOW IF A BROTHER DEMAND ESGART DES FRÈRES CONCERNING ANY ORDER GIVEN TO HIM, THAT IT SHOULD BE HELD.—Item, it is decreed that if a brother demand Esgart des Frères concerning an order that has been given to him, that the Esgart should be held. And that if the superior (soveirans) do not hold it, that he pass the time every day demanding the Esgart, and that the order be invalid until such time as the Esgart shall have delivered judgement. Also, if any brother shall demand anything of his superior, that the brother ought to have according to the customs and statutes of the House, that the superior hold Esgart des Frères concerning the said matter.¹

3. WHICH DEALS WITH THE VILLEINS WHO DIE IN THE BAILIWICK OF CYPRUS.—Item, it is decreed concerning the villeins of the House, who die in Cyprus, that the plough and team (carhue et lahue), which the Commander is accustomed to take as his perquisite should remain with the children and wife of the villein rendering the service according to the custom of villeinage.

4. HOW THE CORN AND OTHER THINGS OF THE BAILIWICK OF CYPRUS SHOULD BE DELIVERED.—Item, it is decreed that all corn of the Bailiwick of Cyprus and of the Commandery of Limassol, and the wine, except for the customary provision of the Bailiwick, come to the granary and to the cellar, that is to say that the corn and the vegetables throughout October should be allotted to the Commander of Limassol² for the expenses of the Convent, and the wine throughout November, excepting the wine of Quillac,³ which should be retained. And

¹ Compare with this Para. 3 of 1293, p. 94, and Paras. 2 and 3 of 1306, pp. 137, 138.

² The Grand Commander of the Order is frequently spoken of as the Commander of Limassol, the seat of the Convent, just as previously in the Holy Land he was frequently spoken of as the Commander of Acre.

³ Quillac, now known as Kellachi, in the district of Limassol.

when the Commander of Cyprus shall wish to sell it, that the Commander of Limassol may have it for as much as he would have had it on the spot (*en la terra*).

5. WHICH DEALS WITH THE OATH THAT THE DOCTORS GIVE, WHEN THE HOUSE KEEPS THEM.—Item, it is decreed that the doctors, who shall dwell in the house, make oath and their fealty in the presence of seven brethren and of the Infirmarian, that is to say of one brother from each Tongue. And that the doctors be put on their fealty that they should prescribe the things that they know to be necessary for the sick brethren. And that the brethren should have them so far as they are able to be found, and the House can provide. And that they shall not desist from this course for any order that they have from anyone.

6. WHICH DEALS WITH MEAT ON MONDAYS.—Item, meat is permitted on Mondays in such manner that the brethren may eat it outside the Hall (*palis*).

7. WHICH DEALS WITH THE MEASURE OF THE CROSS THAT THE BRETHREN WEAR ON THEIR MANTLES.—Item, it is decreed that the cross which the brethren wear on their mantles or cassocks (*chappes*) or long coats (*argans*) ¹ be of one palm ² in length.

8. CONCERNING THE RESPONSION IN WHAT MANNER TO ACT.—It is decreed that no brother should lay his hand on the Responsorium, except by order of the Master.

9. HOW AND IN WHAT PLACE CHAPTER-GENERAL SHOULD BE HELD.—Item, it is decreed that so long as the Master and Convent shall be in the Kingdom of Cyprus the Chapter-General should be held at Limassol. And if it so be that the Master and Convent go to Syria, that the Master take counsel with the Convent, or the greater part of it, concerning the place where the Chapter should be held.

10. HOW THE ESCHEATS SHOULD COME TO THE HAND

¹ We find the long coats or hargans mentioned in Para. 7 of 1288, p. 89, and in Para. 1 of 1305, p. 136.

² A palm is a measure of three, and sometimes of four inches.

OF THE MASTER.—Item, it is decreed that all things that escheat to the Capitular Bailiffs should come into the hand of the Master, excepting money, which should come to the Treasury, and except the things of the five Bailiffs of the Convent, of whom the Marshal (takes) the animals and the armour, and the Drapier the robes and other used articles, and the money (goes) to the Treasury.

11. WHICH DEALS WITH THE BEQUESTS OF HORSES AND ARMOUR, INTO WHOSE HANDS THEY SHOULD COME.—Item, it is decreed that the horses and mules and all armour, which shall be bequeathed to the House this side the sea, excepting at Le Crac and Margat, should come into the hands of the Marshal for the Convent.

12. CONCERNING CHAPTER-GENERAL, WHEN IT IS DESIRED TO PROLONG IT, WHAT SHOULD BE DONE.—Item, it is decreed that when Chapter-General should close, if the prud'hommes are in agreement and authorize that the Chapter remain in session (*overt*) for some days longer, for the purpose of doing anything that seems to them profitable, the session may not be extended for longer than ten days.¹ And during this period and in that same place where the Chapter shall have been held, the Master with the plain council of the Bailiffs and ancients who shall be around him may ordain concerning new things, which shall arise, of which mention shall not have been made before the prud'hommes in the said Chapter, which do not cause offence or harm to anything which shall have been ordained by the said Chapter. And he may also ordain concerning those same things, of which mention shall have been made in the said Chapter, if they shall be specially committed to him by the Chapter. And that which shall be done otherwise, may not continue or be valid.

¹ This means that the total duration of Chapter-General must not exceed ten days; there is no record as to the normal duration of Chapter-General, but probably it was one week. Under Para. 16 of 1304, p. 135, power was given to prolong Chapter-General for yet a further eight days.

13. WHICH DEALS WITH THE POWER OF THE ADMIRAL, AND WHAT HE SHOULD HAVE.—Item, it is decreed that an Admiral be made and ordained by Chapter-General, and that he should have power over all the galleys and armed barques (*ligns armés*),¹ which the House shall cause to be armed. And that he may keep the galleys and the men-at-arms and the sailors (*subresaillens*), and cause them to be paid by the Treasury, and that they be under his command on sea and on land. And if the Marshal² shall be with the armament, the Admiral and all the others shall be under his command. All the brethren and the men-at-arms who shall go ashore, shall be under the command of whoever shall be in the place of the Marshal. And when they are at sea, going and returning, they shall be under the command of the Admiral, except if the Marshal² be there. Also the Admiral shall have for pittance one hundred saracen besants every year of the booty (*gaaign*) that the galleys and barques shall take. And if by chance no armament be made nor any booty taken, that he may take from the Treasury one hundred saracen besants. Also that he may have fifty measures of wine. The armour and all the other things that shall be necessary for the armament, the Commander of Limassol should give to the Admiral.

14. WHICH DEALS WITH THE OFFICES OF THE HOSTEL³ AND THE THINGS IN THE SAID OFFICES WHICH BELONG TO THE MARSHALSHIP.—Item, it is recorded concerning the offices which are in the house, that all the things which shall be in the said offices, which belong to the Marshal-

¹ The Lin, in Italian legno, was a smaller vessel than the galley; its dimensions are now unknown. See Delaville Le Roux, *La France en l'Orient au XIV^e siècle*, p. 46, note.

² The Latin version in both these cases substitutes Marshal for Master, and that this is correct is clear from the later customs of the Order. See the Statutes of Cardinal Verdala, Title X, Para. 3.

³ Hostel strictly means the Hospice for Pilgrims, see Para. 1 of 1301, p. 108, but here it is probably used in error for the House of the Hospital, i.e. the Convent.

ship, are under the command of the Marshal, and the brethren-at-office are bound to cause them to be made and to deliver them on the command of the Marshal, if they are able to have the things. And if they shall have them and are not willing to obey the command of the Marshal, that the Marshal may lodge a complaint against the brethren-at-office in that case, and compel them by the sentence (justice) of the House. In all other things all the offices are under the command of the Commander.

15. HOW THE MARSHAL MAY CAUSE LIVERY TO BE GIVEN TO BRETHREN GOING ABROAD.—Item, it is decreed that the Marshal may command livery (lievrason. Lat. porciones)¹ to be given to brethren, when they shall have leave to go abroad.

16. WHICH DEALS WITH BRETHREN WHO GO ON THE SERVICE OF THE HOUSE, HOW THEY SHOULD HAVE THEIR EXPENSES.—Item, it is decreed that a brother, who shall be ordered to go abroad on the service of the House may demand and have livery (lievrason) for one day or for two days at most, except those who go on a voyage beyond the sea, or to Armenia, or from this side into Syria. And if the service, committed to the brethren who shall be ordered, cannot be accomplished in those two days, that there should be given to them expenses for their maintenance (estovoirs) in good manner, according to the ability of the House. And when the brother shall be returned from the said mission, within two or three days afterwards, that he be bound to render an account before the Grand Commander and the Treasurer clearly, day by day, of the expenses with which he shall have been entrusted for the business of that mission. And if he should have anything remaining, that the brother deliver it to the Treasury. And if the brother should have spent more, that it be repaid to him.

¹ The word livery may refer to the regulation dress of the brethren, as in the phrase ‘ robe de lievrason ’, or to their rations and upkeep, as here.

17. WHAT BRETHREN MAY GO TO SEE LADIES.—Item, it is decreed that a brother may not go to see ladies, except in the company of the Master and of the Capitular Bailiffs, or of some prud'homme being a brother ancient of twenty years' standing.

18. WHAT PERSONS SHOULD HAVE CONVENTUAL SHOES AND WHAT PERSONS NOT.—Item, it is decreed that no secular person, who is in the service of the House, should have conventional footwear (*chausement de freres*), except priests and advocates and doctors of medicine or of surgery and scribes and yeomen (*valletz*) of the Master,¹ and that other shoes should be caused to be made similar to those of the brethren, which should have sides all round (*rives tout entour*), which should be entrusted to the others, who now are accustomed to have conventional shoes (*soliers de freres*).

19. IN WHAT MANNER BRETHREN SHOULD GO TO THE BATHS.—Item, it is decreed that a brother should not go to the baths, except of necessity, with the knowledge of his Bailiff, and if they be three or four together, and that the brethren do not eat at the baths nor sleep there.

20. HOW THE THINGS DONE AT THE CHAPTERS OF AVIGNON AND MARSEILLES ARE REPEALED AND CANCELLED.—Item, it is recorded and decided (*esgardé*) that whatsoever things were authorized done and decreed in the Chapters which were held at Avignon and Marseilles in the year of Our Lord 1297, whether it be concerning offices or bailiwicks or other things, be of no force or virtue, and are entirely repealed and cancelled,² and it is forbidden that from henceforward any brother should plead or defend himself or use Letters of Grace³ or any other thing which has been

¹ The Latin version reads : ‘scriptoribus magistri et thesaurariis, et camerariis scutiferisque magistri’.

² Modified in one respect by Para. 16 of 1302, p. 126.

³ Letters of Grace are documents granting some favour irrespective of existing rules or customs.

authorized done or said in any of the Chapters held in the said places.

21. CONCERNING COTE-HARDIES WITH POINTS.—Item, it is decreed that if a brother shall wear a cote-hardie with points,¹ and complaint shall be made, that the brother shall undergo the Septaine.

22. CONCERNING CASSOCKS OF BURRELL.—Item, it is decreed that the brethren may wear cassocks of burrell (*garnaches de berrie*)² open in front, with seven buttons of the same cloth.

23. CONCERNING FASTING ON FRIDAY.—Item, it is decreed that the brethren should fast on Fridays from Michaelmas to Easter.

And this was done in the year month and day aforesaid.

B. THE CHAPTER-GENERAL OF 1301

THESE ARE THE STATUTES MADE AND ORDAINED AT CHAPTER-GENERAL BY THE RELIGIOUS BROTHER WILLIAM DE VILLARET BY THE GRACE OF GOD HONOURABLE MASTER OF THE HOLY HOUSE OF THE HOSPITAL OF SAINT JOHN OF JERUSALEM AND BY THE PRUD'HOMMES WHO WERE AT THE SAID CHAPTER WHICH WAS HELD AT LIMASSOL IN THE YEAR OF THE INCARNATION 1301 ON THE TWENTY-SECOND DAY OF OCTOBER.³

1. HOW THE BRETHREN-AT-OFFICE SHOULD TAKE THE THINGS THAT ARE NECESSARY FROM STORE.—Firstly, since it is the case that all the offices of the Hospital of the Healthy (*Ospitel de saiens*)⁴ may have and take all the

¹ Compare with this Para. 7 of 1288, p. 89, and see footnote to the same.

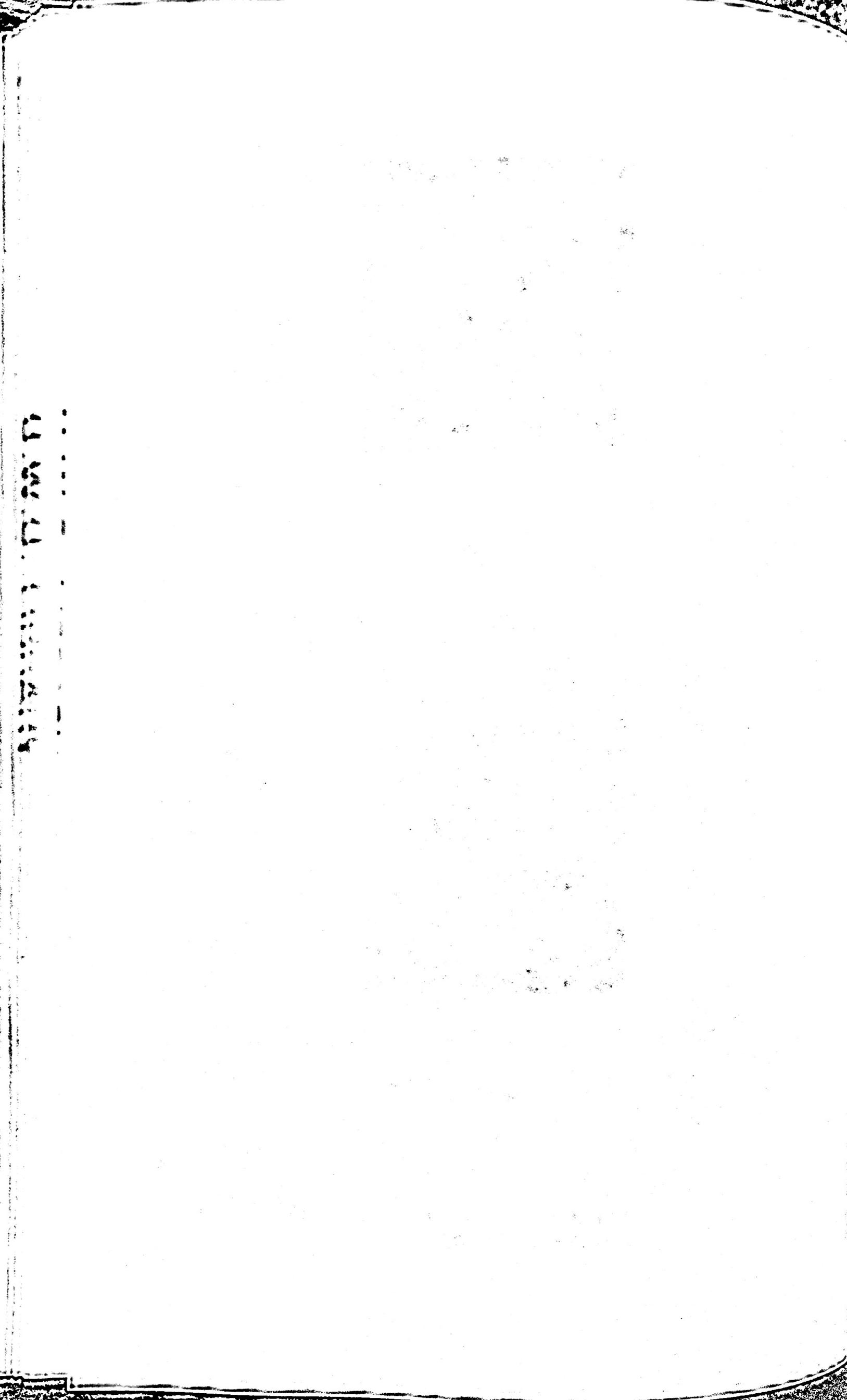
² Burrell is a kind of coarse russet cloth.

³ The Latin version ends with the words 'sequitur pars secunda'.

⁴ The Hospital of the Healthy is called in Para. 10 the Hostel of the Healthy, and the Latin version calls it simply the Hospitium; it is doubtless the Hospice for the pilgrims, who were not sick, and in Acre stood outside the conventional buildings, and doubtless also at Limassol. From Para. 10 it is evident that some of the brethren were permitted to have quarters in the Hospice. The word Hostel is also used in the rubric of Para. 14 of 1300, p. 105, but probably in error.



LEADEN BULLA OF FR. WILLIAM DE VILLARET
In the Archives of the Bouches-du-Rhone



things that are necessary from the store (vote), it is decreed that when the brethren-at-office desire to have anything from store, that is to say buckram boots canvas soap iron wool leather¹ and all other manner of things that they take from store for their offices, that the Brother of the Store (frère de la vote) every time that he shall give anything to the brethren-at-office, be bound to take from each brother-at-office a receipt (apodixe) sealed with the seal of the brother, in which should be written the quantity of things that he shall have given to him, and on what day and what date of the month. And if the Commander of the Store by forgetfulness do not give the receipt (i.e. to be sealed), the brethren-at-office are bound to remind the store, or otherwise they may not take the things. And that the Brother of the Store be bound to guard well the receipts, and to bring the receipts each month to the Treasury before the Master and prud'hommes. And that the brethren-at-office be bound each month to render an account, in the presence of the Master and the prud'hommes, of the quantity of things that each shall have received from store in each month, and to render an account each one of his office on what he shall have expended, or to whom he shall have given the said things, day by day, and how much he shall have remaining. Also when the brother of the store shall give salt meat or cheese to the kitchen, that the brother of the kitchen be in his presence. And of the quantity that he shall receive he is bound to render an account each month, day by day, of the things that he shall have taken from store.

2. CONCERNING THE MONEY OF THE CAPITULAR BAILIFFS THIS SIDE THE SEA AND BEYOND AND OF THE BRETHREN THIS SIDE THE SEA, HOW IT SHOULD COME TO THE TREASURY.—Item, it is decreed that all the money (pecunie) that shall be found with the Capitular Bailiffs this side the

¹ The words used are : bocarans, botaines, chanavas, sabon, fer, estain, curain.

sea, and with all the Capitular Priors¹ beyond the sea, and with the Commanders of the Holy Trinity and of St. Euphemia and of Morea,² and the Castellan of Amposta, who shall die, and with all the brethren who shall die this side the sea, of whatsoever condition they be, shall all come to the Treasury : jewels and plate (vaisella) and armour and other equipment (harnois) shall come into the hands of the Bailiffs, just as is decreed and customary.

3. HOW THE MARSHAL SHOULD HAVE THREE HUNDRED SARACEN BESANTS EACH YEAR.—Item, because the Master had granted a grace to the Marshal that he should take from each brother who shall depart this life one hundred saracen besants or less, now because it is decreed that all the money (pecunie) come to the Treasury, the Master and the Prud'hommes have ordained that the Marshal take three hundred saracen besants from the Treasury each year.

4. HOW THE BRETHREN SHOULD GO IN PROCESSION AND TO GRACE.—Item, it is decreed that when the brethren go in procession and to grace, in whatever part the procession may go, and also when the brethren go to grace in the minster, the Grand Commander and the Marshal or those who shall take their place, should be the last, to see that the brethren go in an orderly manner, just as they should go. And if any brother do wrong, that each of them should complain of those who are under their orders, and let them undergo the Septaine. And if the Commander be not in the procession, that

¹ The Capitular Priors are generally spoken of simply as Priors, and are the Grand Priors of later history ; they are called Capitular to distinguish them from the numerous ecclesiastical Priors.

² These three commanders are Capitular Commanders and in later history always bear the title of Bailiff : St. Euphemia was in the Priory of Capua ; its origin is unknown : the Abbey of the Holy Trinity of Venusia was suppressed by Pope Boniface VIII in 1297, and handed over to the Hospitallers ; it is in the Priory of Barletta : the establishments in the Morea were formed in the first half of the thirteenth century.

the Marshal have power in that case to lodge the complaint against all. And if the Marshal be not there, that the Grand Commander have that same power.¹

5. WHICH DEALS WITH THE NUMBER OF BRETHREN WHO SHOULD DWELL THIS SIDE THE SEA.—It is decreed that this side the sea there should dwell seventy brother knights and ten brother serjeants-at-arms, who shall be divided by Tongues, and brother priests and brethren of labour as many as need shall require.²

6. WHICH DEALS WITH THE BRETHREN WHO EAT IN THEIR CELLS BY PERMISSION.—Item, it is decreed that every brother, bailiff or other, who by permission shall eat outside the Hall (palais) in his chamber or in his cell (place), that it be at the discretion of the Master to cause them to be given food from the Hall (palais) and from the kitchen, as it shall seem good to him.

7. WHICH DEALS WITH REQUESTS MADE BY A BROTHER TO HAVE A BAILIWICK.—Item, it is decreed that if any request come to the Master from any great lord this side the sea or beyond, on behalf of any brother that he would grant him a bailiwick, that those letters be not read until after the Chapter.

8. WHICH DEALS WITH THE COMMANDER OF THE KNIGHTS WHO SHALL BE IN ARMENIA OR ELSEWHERE BY (ORDER OF) THE MARSHAL.—Item, it is decreed that the Commander of the Knights, who shall be by (order of) the Marshal in Armenia or elsewhere on caravan³ beyond their castles, the equipment (arnois) of arms which shall escheat from brethren who shall depart this life, the Commander of the Knights may grant to brethren where it shall seem good to him. And if

¹ Compare with this Para. 27 of 1262, Para. 9 of 1270, Para. 13 of 1302, pp. 60, 75, 124, and *Judgements and Customs*, Para. 96, p. 178.

² The numbers are given as sixty-five Knights and fifteen Serjeants in Para. 14 of 1302, p. 124, where the distribution by Tongues is given.

³ Caravan is the technical term used by the Hospitallers for a military expedition, and at a later period for a tour of duty in the galleys, see Para. 33 of 1262, and Para. 5 of 1263, pp. 63, 67.

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there be money (pecunie), it comes to the Treasury; of the jewels, let half be for the Marshal, and half for the Commander of the Knights.

9. HOW BRETHREN WHO DEPART FROM THE CONVENT SHOULD LEAVE THEIR EQUIPMENT.—Item, it is decreed that when brethren depart from the Convent to go to Armenia or elsewhere, they should leave their equipment (arnois) in safe custody that if God should call them, their equipment and their things may not be lost to those to whom they should come.

10. CONCERNING THE CHAMBERS OF THE HEALTHY, AT WHOSE DISPOSITION THEY SHOULD BE.—Item, it is decreed that the chambers that the brethren of the Convent shall have made or shall make in the Hospice of the Healthy (Ostel de Saiens), should be at the disposition of the Marshal, and if they come to the Marshal, that he may give them to brethren of the same Tongue as the brother to whom they had belonged. The other chambers are at the disposition of the Grand Commander, save the chamber that Brother Raymond de Ribells has had made, and that which Brother Bernard du Chemin¹ has had made.

11. It is decreed that whoever receives any equipment of a deceased brother, that does not come to him of right, and will not give it up to him to whom it should come, should undergo the Quarantaine.²

12. WHICH DEALS WITH HOW MANY PRIORS SHOULD BE RECALLED EACH YEAR.—Item, it is decreed that each year two Priors or more should be recalled, especially those who shall have resided (away) the longest.³

¹ Both these Knights were Capitular Bailiffs, Fr. Raymond de Ribells was Castellan of Amposta from 1276 onwards, and also Grand Commander of Spain from 1295 and Grand Commander of the Order in 1303: Fr. Bernard du Chemin was Treasurer of the Order from 1299 onwards. See Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte*, p. 410.

² This paragraph is omitted in the French version, and is taken from the Latin version; it has no rubric.

³ This was cancelled by Statute 17 of 1304, p. 135.

13. HOW NO PRIOR MAY HAVE TWO CAPITULAR PRIORIES.—Item, it is decreed that no Prior may have two Capitular Priories, save in Germany.¹

14. HOW THE MASTER EQUERRY SHOULD RENDER ACCOUNT.—Item, it is decreed that the Master Equerry be bound to render an account each month of the things that he shall receive from the offices, day by day, to whom he shall have given them.

15. WHICH DEALS WITH THE PETTY COMMANDER AND THE INFIRMARIAN AND THE BROTHER OF THE GRANARY THAT THEY SHOULD RENDER ACCOUNT.—Item, it is decreed that the Petty Commander, the Infirmarian and the Brother of the Granary² be bound to render an account each month of the things that they shall have expended, and what stores (garnison) they shall have (in hand).

16. WHICH DEALS WITH THE PRIOR OF THE CHURCH.—Item, it is recorded that the Prior of the Church of the Healthy³ be bound to come to the assemblies of the Marshal.

17. WHICH DEALS WITH THOSE WHO REVEAL THE SECRET OF THE HOUSE.—Item, it is decreed that whosoever shall reveal the secret counsel of the House to secular persons or to persons of other Religions, and complaint be lodged and it be proved, let him undergo the Quarantine, and let him be suspended from all counsels, and let it be at the discretion of the Master

¹ This was cancelled by Statute 20 of 1302, p. 127.

² The Infirmarian was a Knight, nominated by the Hospitaller, and in charge of the Infirmary for the sick brethren; he is doubtless the same as the Brother of the Infirmary mentioned in Para. 33 of 1262, p. 63. The Petty Commander was an official of the Infirmary, a Serjeant-at-Arms nominated by the Grand Commander. The Brother of the Granary is no doubt the official later known as the Commander of the Granaries; he was a Knight nominated by the Grand Commander. See Héritte, *Essai sur l'Ordre des Hospitaliers*, pp. 62, 63.

³ The Prior of the Church of the Healthy is doubtless the senior chaplain of the Hospice for Pilgrims, and should not be confounded with the Conventional Prior, or Prior of the Church of the Convent.

and of the prud'hommes to send him where they think good outside his Priory.¹

18. WHICH DEALS WITH ANY ANCIENT PRUD'HOMME THAT THE MASTER WOULD RETAIN THIS SIDE THE SEA, HOW HE MAY HAVE ANY HOUSE BEYOND THE SEA.—Item, because the Master has need of ancient prud'hommes in his company and of their counsel, for the present time it is decreed that if the Master would retain any ancient prud'hommes in his company this side the sea, that the Master with the advice of his Chapter-General, may give to each a bailiwick in the Priory to which he belongs, provided also that the said bailiwick be in the Visitation of the Prior and pay the customary tallages (tailles) and services of the Priory. Also that the said prud'homme may put a brother in his place, who shall control the said bailiwick ; the age (i.e. seniority) of the prud'homme shall be in the discretion of the Master and the prud'hommes.

19. WHICH DEALS WITH OUR LORDS THE SICK.—Item, it is decreed concerning our lords the sick who die in the Palais (des Malades) that all those who shall have shirts and breeches, be buried with their shirts and breeches.

20. WHICH DEALS WITH THE ADMINISTRATION OF EXPENSES.—Item, it is decreed that Colossi² be administered regarding expenses and all other things, just as was Le Manueth³ at Acre.

21. HOW THE BROTHER CHAPLAINS WHO ARE OR SHALL COME THIS SIDE THE SEA ARE AT THE COMMAND

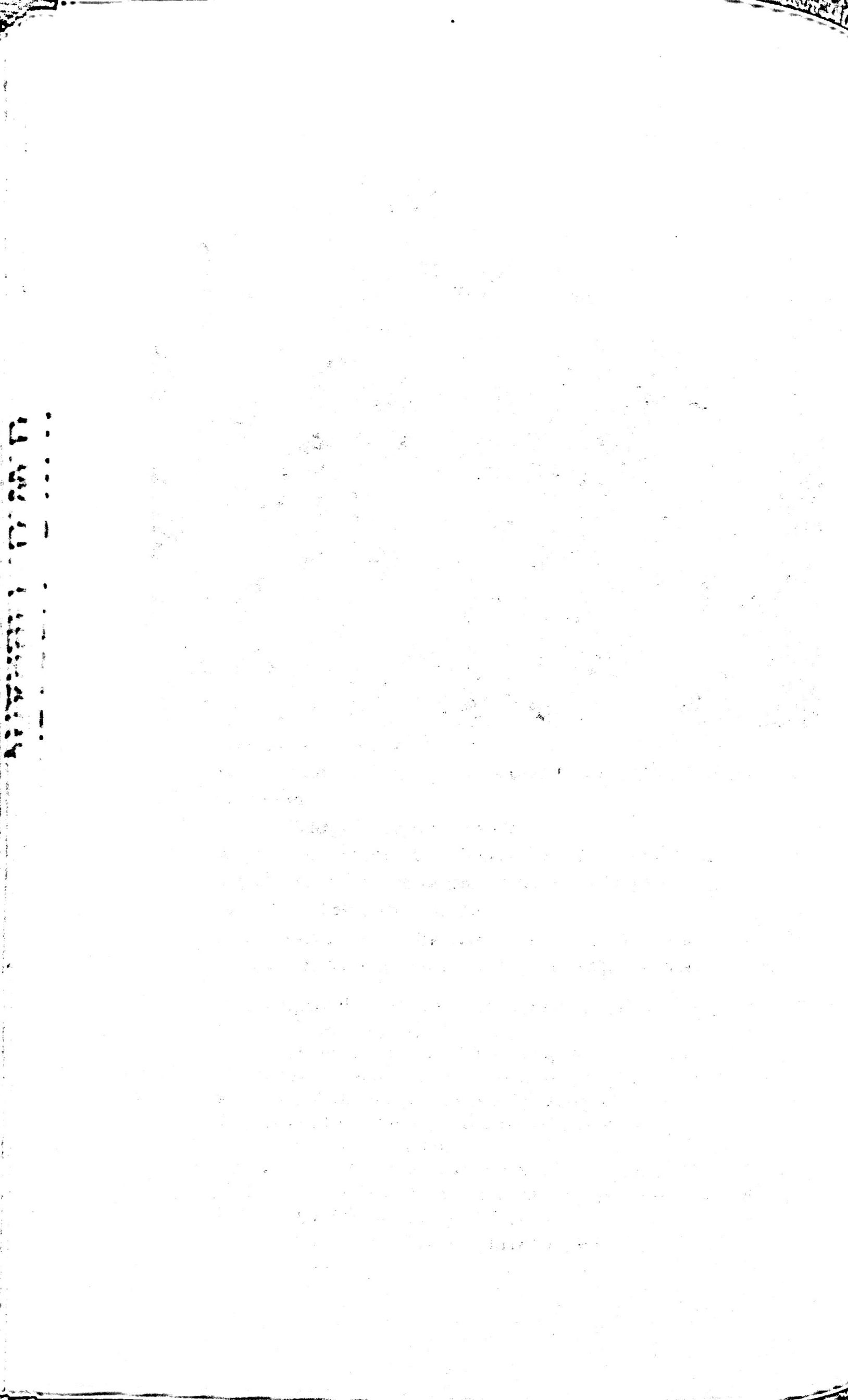
¹ Compare this with Para. 24 of 1270, p. 78, and *Judgements and Customs*, Paras. 75, 82, pp. 169, 170.

² Colossi six miles west of Limassol, the seat of the Commander of Cyprus : it was one of the strongest castles in the island, and was granted to the Hospitallers by King Hugh I in 1210. The keep is still in existence, and part of it is in the possession of the British Order of St. John.

³ Le Manueth the modern Khibet Menawitha, a casale E.N.E. of Acre, it was sold to the Hospitallers for 2,000 marks in 1212, by John de Brienne, King of Jerusalem.



THE CASTLE OF COLOSSI



OF THE PRIOR.—Item, that all the brother chaplains who shall be in the Convent or shall come to it, be under the command of the Prior of the Church, saving the brother chaplains of the Master, that is to say that the Prior may command them to conduct the office of the church and to go to confess or communicate brethren of the House that are in the town, if he cannot go.

22. CONCERNING THOSE WHO SEND LETTERS TO THE MASTER IN DIVERSE MANNERS.—Item, it is decreed that if letters are sent to the Master and Convent or to the Master personally from the Capitular Priors and Capitular Commanders beyond the sea, under their seals and under the seals of those who desire to seal that they affirm something, and then (the latter) afterwards send the contrary under their seals, that what is sent be not valid, and that the Priors or the Commanders may lodge a complaint against them, and let them lose the habit.

23. HOW THE PRIORS PAY THEIR RESPONSIONS EACH YEAR IN FULL.—Item, because of the great distress and poverty in which our House is,¹ and because of the great necessities and expenses and debts that the House owes, it is decreed that the Capitular Priors and Capitular Commanders beyond the sea, as reason and duty is, send each Prior and Commander his Responsion in full each year to the Treasury, just as it is taxed and ordained and written ; and he who shall not send it in full, shall hold himself as being recalled without other amendment, and shall come to us at the next following Passage,² in order to say and show for what reason they have not paid their Responsion.

24. CONCERNING THOSE WHO HAVE THEIR ROBE MADE OUTSIDE THE PARMENTARIE OF THE HOUSE.—Item, it is decreed that he who has his robe made in the town

¹ The distress and poverty were due to the recent loss of Acre, and the whole of the possessions of the Order in the Holy Land.

² For the technical meaning of Passage, see footnote to Para. 21 of 1283, p. 85 : this Statute was cancelled in Para. 17 of 1302, p. 126.

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without the leave of the Drapier, and complaint be lodged, undergo the Septaine.¹

25. CONCERNING THOSE WHO HAVE THEIR ROBE MADE IN ANOTHER SHAPE THAN THAT IN USE IN THE HOUSE.—Item, it is decreed that he who has his robe made in another shape (*taille*) than that in use in the House undergo the Septaine.

26. Item, it is decreed that he who eats in a forbidden place within the Hospice (*ostel*), and complaint be lodged, undergo the Septaine.

27. THIS IS THE POWER OF THE MARSHAL CONCERNING THE BEARER OF THE STANDARD.—It is decreed that the Marshal may deliver the standard (*gonfanon*) to any brother to whomsoever he shall please, whom he shall see to be the most suitable to bear it in a deed of arms, always by the counsel of the Master if he be present, or of whomsoever takes his place.²

28. CONCERNING THE ORDERING OF WATER.—Item, that the Marshal order water for the brethren in the Auberges, and that the other Bailiffs do not order water for the brethren, unless they seek for them in their lodgings (*ostels*).³

29. HOW THE EQUIPMENT OF A DECEASED BROTHER SHOULD BE DIVIDED AND THAT NO ONE SHOULD DEMAND ANYTHING OF THAT EQUIPMENT THE DAY THAT THE BROTHER SHALL BE DECEASED.—Item, it is decreed concerning the equipment (*harnois*) of brethren departed this life that the Marshal do not give it, except where he shall see that it should be given, and that no brother should demand anything of that equipment the day that the brother shall be buried until the day after, when the Mass and Hours shall have been sung. And

¹ The Parmentarie was the clothing store of the Convent ; compare with this Para. 1 of 1263, p. 66.

² Compare this with Para. 4 of 1262, p. 54.

³ Compare this with Para. 5 of 1262, p. 54, and Para. 8 of 1304, p. 133, which suggests that in this case ‘ostels’ means the cells of the brethren. Also see *Judgements and Customs*, Para. 119, p. 191.

if any brother ask for it before the said term, that the Marshal lodge a complaint against him, and that he be placed under sentence of the Quarantaine, and from that time onwards have nothing of that equipment.¹

30. CONCERNING THE UNCUT CLOTH OF DECEASED BRETHREN.—Item, that all the uncut cloth (dras entiers) of deceased brethren be for the Marshal.²

31. WHAT BRETHREN ARE AT THE COMMAND OF THE MARSHAL.—Item, it is decreed that all the brethren-at-arms should be at the orders of the Marshal, save the Companions of the Master. And when they shall go on a raid (en chevauchée) the Bailiffs and other men-at-arms shall be at the orders of the Marshal. The Marshal and all the others shall be at the orders of the Master, if he be present, and if the Master be not there the Marshal shall be at the orders of whosoever shall take the place of the Master.³

32. CONCERNING EQUIPMENT PERTAINING TO CHIVALRY : IT IS AT THE ORDERS OF THE MARSHAL, SAVE THE REVERENCE DUE TO THE MASTER, WHO MAY TAKE IT.—Item, all the equipment (harnois), both remounts (chavaucheurs) and armour, and all other things, which pertain to chivalry, from whatever source they come, and wherever they may be, are at the orders of the Marshal, save the reverence due to the Master, who may take that which shall be necessary for his own use and that of his Companions, and save those things which shall be presented to the Master. Concerning all the things that shall be necessary for the Marshalship, the Marshal should inform the Master, and the Master should order the Treasury, or other place from which he takes the money to buy what shall be necessary for the Marshalship. Item, the Marshal should have a charger (cheval regnable) as his hack (roncin), which no brother may demand as his charger.⁴

¹ Compare with this Para. 6 of 1262, p. 54.

² Compare with this Para. 2 of 1264, p. 68.

³ Compare with this the Statutes of Margat, Para. 11, p. 49.

⁴ Compare with this Para. 4 of 1268, and Para. 8 of 1278, pp. 72, 81.

33. CONCERNING THE WEARING OF BOOTS.—Item, that the Marshal have power to give leave to the brethren to wear boots, and the Grand Commander the same power over the brethren of service (freres de mestier), and the Master over the Capitular Bailiffs, and all the other bailiffs in their bailiwicks.¹

34. CONCERNING THE EQUIPMENT OF BRETHREN, WHO SHALL BE SENT ON MISSIONS BEYOND THE SEA, THAT IT REMAIN WITH THE MARSHAL.—Item, if the Master desire to send any brethren-at-arms on missions beyond the sea, the equipment (harnois) of that brother should remain at the disposal of the Marshal, in whatever place the equipment may be this side the sea.²

35. HOW THE MARSHAL SHOULD KEEP AND ISSUE ARMOUR WHICH ESCHEATS.—Item, it is decreed that all armour that escheats from a brother, dead or departed from this country, or from whatever place it escheats, should be put in the keeping of a brother, who is appointed for this purpose by the Marshal ; and this brother shall enter in writing what he shall receive and what he shall issue by the orders of the Marshal. And those who would refit from that equipment (arnoys), shall render an exchange for it, if they have it.³

36. CONCERNING ARBALESTS WHICH ESCHEAT.—Item, the arbalests which escheat, shall be placed in the Treasury.⁴

37. HOW TO DISTRIBUTE THE THINGS OF BRETHREN-AT-ARMS WHO ARE IN OFFICE UNDER THE COMMANDER.—Item, if any brother of the Convent is in office under the Commander, if the said brother die, the jewels come to the Commander, the armour to the Marshal, and the money to the Treasury. Item, it is decreed that the Marshal have three hundred saracen besants from the Treasury, and all the jewels and plate (vaissellemens) of the Brethren-at-Arms, saving the Capitular Bailiffs,

¹ Compare with this Para. 1 of 1270, p. 74.

² Compare with this Para. 3 of 1268, p. 72.

³ Compare with this Para. 8 of 1288, p. 90.

⁴ Compare this with Para. 8 of 1288, p. 90.

and saving those in office under the Grand Commander ; in other things let him have his right, as is customary.¹

38. HOW BEASTS DISEMBARKED FROM THE SHIP SHOULD BE RECEIVED AND MARKED.—Item, it is decreed that when beasts (i.e. remounts) shall come from beyond the sea, that the Master Equerry and the scribe of the Convent be present at the disembarkation from the ship, and that they be entered in writing, and that it be sealed with the seal of the House.

THESE ARE THE STATUTES MADE AND ORDAINED AT THE CHAPTER-GENERAL HELD AT LIMASSOL BY THE RELIGIOUS MASTER BROTHER WILLIAM DE VILLARET AND BY THE PRUD'HOMMES OF THE CONVENT FOR THE AFFAIRS OF GERMANY IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1301 ON THE TWENTY-SECOND DAY OF OCTOBER.²

1. Firstly, it is decreed that the Commander of Germany have power, with the counsel of his Provincial Chapter, that if there be in his Commandery any bailiwick or house which is in debt or wasted or in bad condition whereby the bailiff cannot pay his Responsion, that the Commander may give it to another brother for life or for a period, in such manner that he may bring it about that the bailiffs free them from debt, and put them in as good condition as possible, and pay the Responsions each year and what is customary in the said Commandery. And if the said brother or brethren do not keep the things that they shall have promised, let the Commander have a care of it. And if the said brother do well, let him be praised for it. And if he should do the contrary to that which he should have promised, let the Commander lodge a complaint against him, and deprive him of the bailiwick. And let him undergo the sentence of the Quarantaine.

¹ Compare with this Para. 1 of 1288, p. 88 ; the Marshal had the right to 300 besants from the Treasury for reasons given in Para. 3 of 1301, p. 110.

² All the following Statutes were confirmed by Statute 18 of 1304, p. 135.

2. Item, it is decreed that the Commander of Germany do not make a brother knight, nor a brother serjeant, nor a brother chaplain without the orders of the Master ; and if he make any, that a complaint be lodged against him, and that he lose the company of the House, which he may not recover, unless he come this side the sea into the presence of the Master and Convent.

3. It is decreed that the ordinance and the statute, which was made by Brother Pons¹ regarding the affairs of Germany, with the assent of the prud'hommes of the country, be kept.

4. Item, it is decreed that no brother in Germany make any new building, but that each brother keep to the maintenance of that which he holds and pay his Responsion and debts ; and he who shall do the contrary, let him lose the company of the House.

5. Item, that no brother in Germany should raise a loan, whereby his house would be indebted, without the leave of the Grand Commander of Germany ; and he who shall do the contrary, let him lose the company of the House, which he may not recover, unless he come into the presence of the Master and Convent.

6. Item, concerning the Commander of Germany, that the pensions of the House, which shall escheat to the House, the Commander may use for his needs.

7. Item, that he may receive Brother Chaplains,² and brethren of labour, where there is need of them.

8. Item, that the Commander may sell pensions of the House to the value of one thousand marks³ with the advice of the prud'hommes of the country, and that the sale should be made to such persons that, after their decease, they may return to the House.

¹ A certain Pons de la Croix was Prior of Hungary in 1217, and Pons de Fay was Prior of Hungary 1267-76 ; one of them, more probably the latter, may have afterwards been Grand Commander of Germany, and be the Brother Pons here mentioned.

² This conflicts with Para. 2 on the previous page.

³ For the value of the mark, see Footnote 3 to the Statute of 1176, p. 30.

C. THE CHAPTER-GENERAL OF 1302

THESE ARE THE STATUTES MADE AND ORDAINED AT THE CHAPTER-GENERAL HELD AT LIMASSOL BY THE RELIGIOUS BROTHER WILLIAM DE VILLARET, HONOURABLE MASTER OF THE HOLY HOUSE OF THE HOSPITAL OF SAINT JOHN OF JERUSALEM, AND BY THE PRUD'HOMMES WHO WERE AT THE SAID CHAPTER IN THE YEAR OF THE INCARNATION OF OUR LORD 1302 ON THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DAY OF OCTOBER.¹

1. Firstly, it is decreed that every time that a Mass of Our Lady is celebrated, at the beginning when 'Salve sancta parens' is said, and at the orison and at the preface, when mention of Our Lady is made, the brethren should make genuflexions, except at the four festivals of Our Lady, on which genuflections should not be made.²

2. THAT NO BROTHER OR ESQUIRE MAY KEEP A DOG.—Item, it is decreed that no brother or esquire may have or keep a dog of his own or of any other person within the precincts of the House. Also if any esquire should keep one in his cell (plassa), that the Master Equerry should order him to drive it away. And if the esquire will not obey the order, that the Master Equerry should control him by the sentence (justice) of the House. And if the Master Equerry find one with any esquire, after he shall have forbidden it three times, that the esquire should lose one white besant³ of his pay. And so should be done with all the esquires who shall be disobedient to the order of the Master Equerry in such cases.

¹ The Latin version ends with the words : 'pars tertia noscitur esse talis'.

² For genuflexions see *Judgements and Customs*, Para. 124, p. 196.

³ The Besant of Cyprus, generally reckoned as a gold coin, was so heavily alloyed with silver, as to be white in colour and so is called a White Besant to distinguish it from the Saracen Besant of almost pure gold, which was worth three and a half white besants.

3. WHICH DEALS WITH LONG-BOWS.—Item, it is decreed that a brother may not carry, or draw a long-bow¹ in the town.

4. HOW MANY BEASTS AND WHAT RETINUE THE MASTER SHOULD HAVE.²—Item, it is decreed that so long as the Master shall be in Cyprus that he may have for his person four beasts, including horses and mules, and four men in charge of the said beasts, six pack-animals (saumiers) and three drivers (saumaliers), three yeomen (valets),³ each with one beast, and one groom (garcon) in charge of the two beasts, one groom⁴ of the chamber, one standard-bearer (confanonier), one smith, one cook and one kitchen-boy, two scribes, each having one beast and one groom, one brother chaplain and one cleric, or one other chaplain in place of the cleric, if he so please (and each of these two shall have his mount), and one esquire with one beast to carry their equipment (arnois) and one footman (garson à pie), one seneschal with two beasts, one esquire and one footman, his Master Equerry with two beasts and one esquire, two Companions with three beasts each and two esquires and one groom,⁵ three serjeants on foot, one butler without a beast, one barber without a beast.

5. HOW MANY BEASTS THE GRAND COMMANDER SHOULD HAVE.—Item, the Grand Commander, one yeoman,⁶ one chamberlain, one groom of the chamber, one butler,

¹ The French version has ‘arc de bodoc’, the Latin version ‘arcus de bondec’; the exact significance of the term is doubtful, it is probably the long-bow. It has been suggested that it may have some connection with the Hungarian town of Bodok.

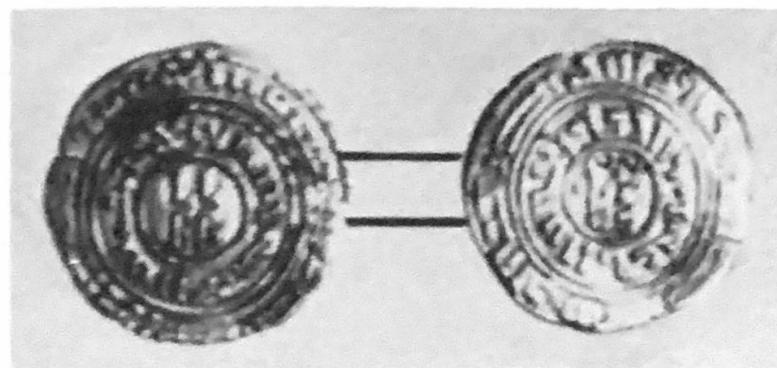
² With this compare the retinue laid down in Para. 10 of the Statutes of Margat, p. 48.

³ The Latin version has esquires (scutiferi) for the French valets.

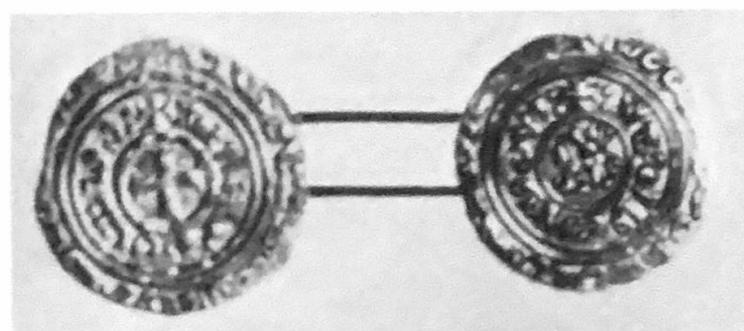
⁴ The French version has ‘garson à la chambre’, the Latin version ‘famulus pro camera’.

⁵ From the retinue allowed to each of the two Companions, it is evident that they are Knights of high standing.

⁶ The Latin version uses scutifer for both esquire, and yeoman (valet).

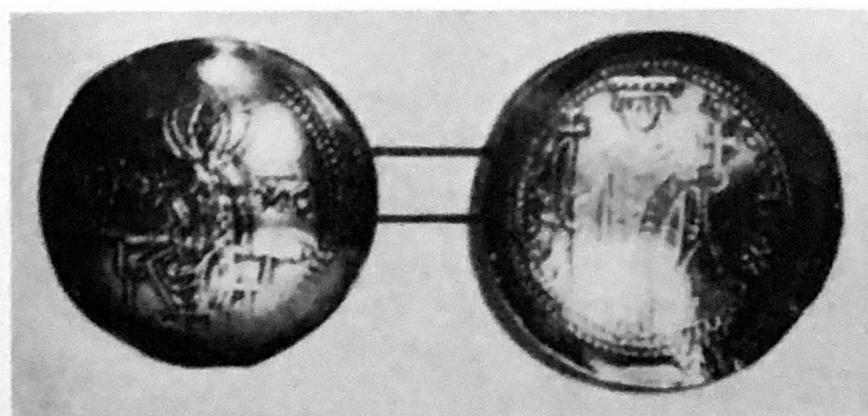


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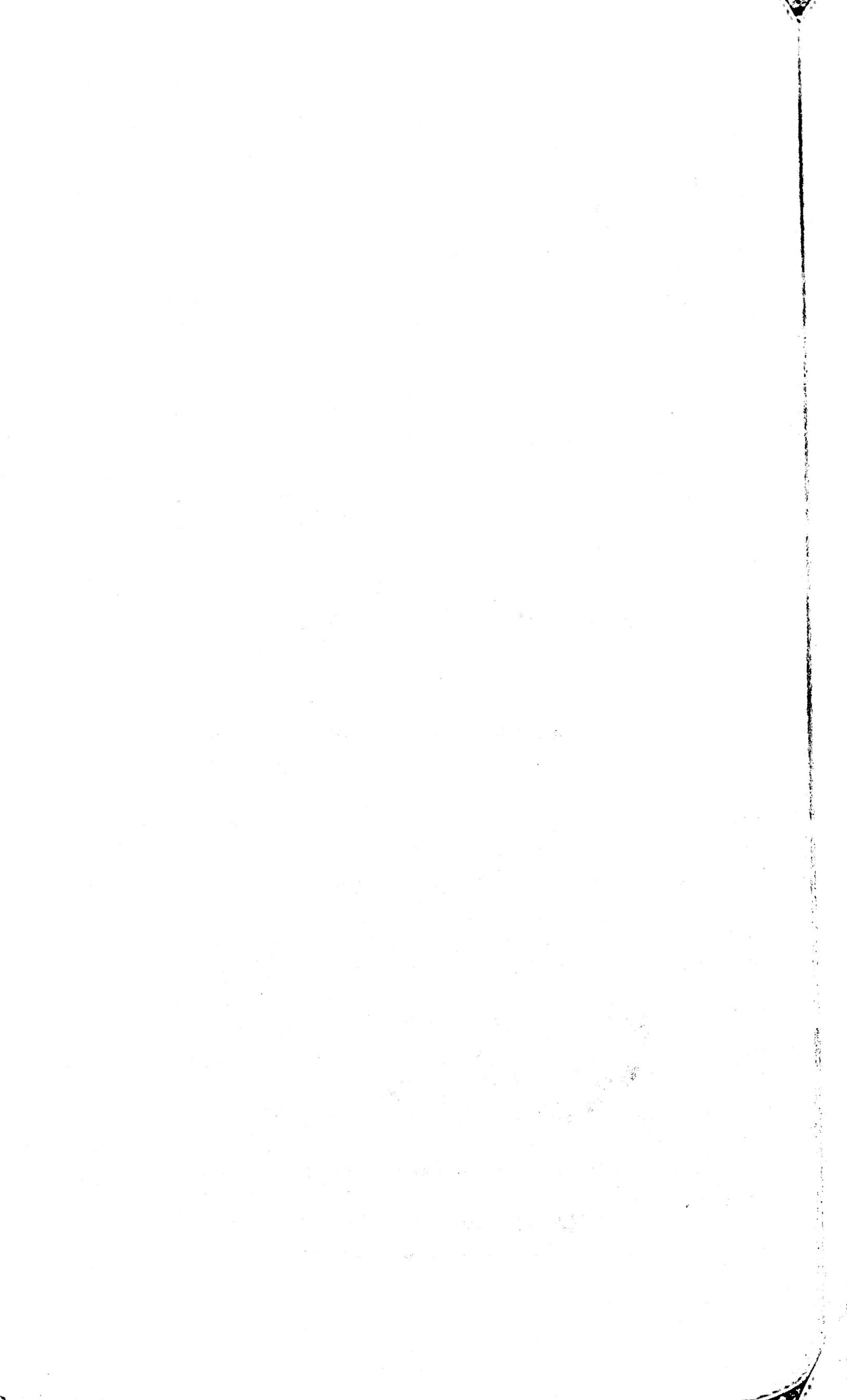
BESANTS STRUCK AT ACRE



KING HUGH I

WHITE BESANTS OF CYPRUS

From Colonel King's Collection



one serjeant, five beasts, three esquires in charge of the beasts.

6. HOW MANY BEASTS THE MARSHAL SHOULD TAKE.—Item, the Marshal, one yeoman, one chamberlain, one groom of the chamber, one butler, one serjeant, five beasts, three esquires¹ in charge of the beasts, and in addition one cook for the pittance.²

7. CONCERNING THE HOSPITALLER, HOW MANY BEASTS.—Item, the Hospitaller, one chamberlain, one groom, three beasts, two esquires.

8. CONCERNING THE DRAPIER, THE SAME.—Item, the Drapier, one chamberlain, one groom, three beasts, two esquires.

9. The Treasurer, one chamberlain, one groom, and three beasts with two grooms.³

10. CONCERNING THE COMMANDER OF CYPRUS.—Item, the Commander of Cyprus, for himself and for his retinue, nine beasts ; and concerning the retinue on foot, which he maintains, that he should observe moderation. And if he act to the contrary, that the Master and prud'hommes may moderate it.⁴

11. CONCERNING THE SEAL OF THE CONVENT, IN WHAT MANNER ONE SHOULD SEAL WITH IT.—Item, since it is a matter that has been decreed in what manner the Seal (bulle) of the Convent shall be kept,⁵ and in what manner one should seal with the said seal, we decree again that it should be kept as is already decreed, and that no letter should be sealed with the said seal, except in the presence of the Grand Commander and the Marshal, or of the Hospitaller and the Treasurer, and of whosoever writes down the resolutions that are made

¹ The French version has four esquires, the Latin version three ; the latter is probably the correct number.

² For the meaning of pittance see Statutes of Margat, Para. 1, Footnote 3, p. 42.

³ This paragraph appears in the Latin version only.

⁴ Compare this with Para. 3 of 1292, p. 93.

⁵ See Para. 2 of 1278, p. 80.

at the Chapter. And none of the above-mentioned can be excused from coming nor may send another in their place, except they should be ill. No letter should be sealed with the said seal, unless the above-mentioned should be present, and the letter be read before them, and certified that the said letter shall have been written in accordance with the resolution and the advice that shall have been given. And if the above-mentioned should be ill, or should not be present, those who shall be acting for them should be bound to come.

12. HOW MANY COURSES A BROTHER MAY GIVE AT HIS SUPPER.—Item, it is decreed that if any Bailiff or other brother give a supper¹ to his brethren, that he may not give them more than two courses of meat,² except the Master who, when he shall give a supper, may use his discretion.

13. HOW THE BRETHREN SHOULD GO TO GRACE AND TO THE PROCESSION.—Item, it is decreed that when the brethren go to grace or in procession, that they should go in proper order and wear their mantles laced up, and should go in silence; and he who shall act to the contrary, should undergo the Septaine.³

14. HOW MANY BRETHREN-AT-ARMS SHOULD DWELL THIS SIDE THE SEA, AND HOW MANY FROM EACH TONGUE.—Item, it is decreed that there should dwell this side the sea eighty brethren-at-arms, who should be distributed and maintained in common by the Tongues, that is to say :

of the Tongue of Provence, fifteen brethren-at-arms ;
 of the Tongue of France, fifteen brethren-at-arms ;
 of the Tongue of Spain, fourteen brethren-at-arms ;
 of the Tongue of Italy, thirteen brethren-at-arms ;
 of the Tongue of Auvergne, eleven brethren-at-arms ;

¹ The French version has ‘ semonce ’, the Latin version ‘ convivium ’.

² The Latin version adds ‘ or one of fish ’, presumably in place of one of the two meat-courses.

³ Compare with this Para. 27 of 1262, Para. 9 of 1270, and Para. 4 of 1301, pp. 60, 76, 110.

of the Tongue of Germany, seven brethren-at-arms ; of the Tongue of England, five brethren-at-arms, and as many more as they should wish. And where they shall not have sufficient brother knights, that they may maintain in their place brother serjeants, or a brother knight in place of a brother serjeant, up to the total of the number aforesaid ; of which there should be sixty-five brother knights and fifteen brother serjeants-at-arms.¹ Each brother knight may have two beasts² and two esquires, and the brother serjeants-at-arms two beasts and one esquire. And if there should be any surplus of beasts, that the Marshal should give to the Ancients of twenty years standing, to each, one beast more of those that shall be superfluous. The Marshal may take seven beasts for making the caravans and other services, which the beasts of the brethren of the Convent have been accustomed to make. The Ancients of twenty years standing may have besides their esquires, one groom without pay (*garson sans soudées*) ; which grooms should not be of the bailiwick of Cyprus. And if there should be any brother of such rank that it would not be to the honour of the House that he should have only two beasts, that the Master may grant him a grace to have the third beast and one groom more. And if any beasts should remain over, he may assign them to the brethren, as shall seem good to him. These things aforesaid are to be understood as applying only to Cyprus.

15. CONCERNING THE RESPONSIONS WHICH SHALL COME THIS SIDE THE SEA AND THE LOANS WHICH SHALL BE RAISED, IN WHAT MANNER THEY COME TO THE TREASURY. —Item, it is decreed that when the Responsions shall come this side the sea through the hands of merchants

¹ Compare with this Para. 5 of 1301, p. 111, which gives seventy Knights and ten Serjeants.

² In Paras. 10 and 11 of the Statutes of Margat, pp. 48, 49, the Knight is given four beasts, and in Para. 5 of 1293, p. 95, three beasts, probably it should read three in the Statutes of Margat.

or other folk, that as soon as it shall be possible, they should be paid over entirely to the Treasury, as has been customary. Also if any loan be raised this side the sea for payment beyond the sea, that the money (deniers) of the said loan should be paid over entirely to the Treasury into the hands of the Treasurer, as soon as it shall be possible.

16. HOW THE ELECTION OF THE MASTER, WHICH WAS ORDAINED IN THE TIME OF THE MASTER JOHN DE VILLIERS IS CONFIRMED.—Item, the election of the Master, which was ordained in the time of the Master John de Villiers,¹ and the addition which was made at Marseilles, is confirmed, saving that it is cancelled that one should swear upon the Body of the Lord.²

17. THAT THE STATUTE WHICH WAS MADE ON THE RESPONSION FROM BEYOND THE SEA AND UPON THE PRIORS BE REPEALED.—Item, the statute which was made at the same time concerning the Priors and the Capitular Commanders, who shall not pay their Responsoria entirely, that they be held to be recalled and that they should come this side the sea, is repealed and broken.³ And it is decreed that each of the Priors and Commanders, who are appointed by Chapter-General, should send each year to the Master and Convent their entire Responsoria; and if there should happen to be any great reason, through which they cannot pay their Responsoria completely, they should send to the Convent their genuine excuse, with the guarantee of seven prud'hommes of the best men who shall be in their Chapter, sealed with their seals. And we command the seven brethren, who

¹ Under the Statutes of Margat the Triumvirate was elected by the Chapter, on which Frenchmen were in a permanent majority; the modification made by John de Villiers is not on record, but probably he decreed that each of the seven Tongues should elect a delegate, and that these seven delegates should elect the Triumvirate, so giving an equal voice to each Tongue.

² The Statutes passed at Avignon and Marseilles in 1297, were repealed in Statute 20 of 1300, p. 107.

³ This Statute thus repealed is Para. 23 of 1301, p. 115.

shall furnish this guarantee, in virtue of holy obedience, that they should state nothing in the said document, except the truth of the said excuse. And if it shall be found at any time that they have stated anything other than the truth, that a complaint be lodged against them by those whom the Master shall order to do it, and let them lose the company of the House.

18. HOW MUCH MONEY SHOULD BE GIVEN TO A BROTHER FOR HIS ROBES AND LINEN AND FOR WASHING THEM.—Item, it is decreed that there should be given to each brother, for the whole year, for his robes linen and sheets (*lencieus*), and for making them up (*costures*) nine white besants, and six white besants for washing all their robes.¹

19. CONCERNING BAILIWICKS WHICH ARE GIVEN BEYOND THE SEA TO ANY PRUD'HOMME, IN WHAT MANNER HE SHOULD LOSE IT, IF IT BE TAKEN FROM HIM.—Item, it is decreed that when any bailiwick shall be given to any prud'homme for life, or for a period, beyond the sea by Chapter-General (or) by the Priors, that care should be taken as to whom it shall be given, and that it should be held, and not recalled, except under the Seal of the Convent. And if the said brother should be accused of any matter, by which he might lose the bailiwick, that he should be recalled by the Chapter and under the Seal of the Convent, and should come before the Chapter, or send his excuse in writing. And then the Master and the Chapter should do what shall seem to them best to do.

20.² It is decreed that care should be taken that no Prior should have, nor be able to have, two Priories, let it now be revoked.³

¹ The Latin version reads: ‘Statutum est quod tradi debeant cuilibet fratri pro tota anne, pro pannis lineis et cousturis, novem bisantii albi, ac pro abluendis omnibus ejus caubis bisantii albi sex.’

² Compare with this Para. 1 of 1306, p. 137.

³ This paragraph appears in the Latin version only, it cancels Para. 13 of the Statutes of 1301, p. 113.

D. THE CHAPTER-GENERAL OF 1303

THESE ARE THE STATUTES MADE AND ORDAINED AT THE CHAPTER-GENERAL HELD AT LIMASSOL BY THE RELIGIOUS BROTHER WILLIAM DE VILLARET, HONOURABLE MASTER OF THE HOLY HOUSE OF THE HOSPITAL OF SAINT JOHN OF JERUSALEM, IN THE YEAR OF THE INCARNATION 1303 ON THE THIRD DAY OF NOVEMBER.¹

1. Firstly, it is decreed that the first Monday in Lent, when the office is celebrated for the deceased Masters, that at the morning Mass all the brethren who shall be present should offer one candle and one denier, and the Master should grant the pittance to the Convent.

2. CONCERNING SILKEN CLOTH, FOR WHOM IT SHOULD BE.—Item, it is decreed that all cloth of gold or of silk, which shall be carried over or laid upon the dead, should be for the Church and coverlets of cloth of gold for the Palais des Malades.

3. CONCERNING THE ORDER REGARDING ALIENATIONS, HOW IT SHOULD BE KEPT.—Item, it is decreed that that which speaks of alienations and of payments for non-entry (*encensives de non prendre d'entrée*), where the sum does not amount to the rent for one year,² we strictly command that it should be observed in every respect.

4. HOW MANY BAILIWICKS EACH PRIOR MAY RETAIN IN HIS OWN HAND IN HIS PRIORY.—Item, it is decreed that the Priors beyond the sea may each hold in his Priory four bailiwicks for their chambers, and no more, of those which shall please them, paying always the responson, excepting the bailiwicks which are given to brethren for a period or for life.

5. HOW A TURCOPOLIER IS MADE BY CHAPTER-

¹ The Latin version ends with the words: ‘quarta pars sequitur et est talis’.

² Compare with this Para. 16 of 1262, p. 58, which states that ‘no fine for entry should be taken, except the amount of the rent for one year, when necessary’.

GENERAL.—Item, it is decreed that a Turcopolier¹ should be made and appointed by Chapter-General ; and as regards his person that he should be exempt from the authority of the Marshal, as are the other Capitular Bailiffs. In deeds of arms and in engaging and dismissing Turcoples, and in detailing the duties of the Turcoples, he should be under the orders of the Marshal, in so much as appertains to the office of Turcopolier. Also the Turcopolier should have of grace one hundred Saracen besants from the Treasury, and fifty measures of wine,² twenty-five measures from Rogera³ and twenty-five from Quillac.

6. HOW THE BRETHREN, WHO SHALL DEPOSIT THEIR THINGS IN THE TREASURY OF THE HOUSE, HAVE THEM KEPT FOR THEM.—Item, it is decreed that every brother of the Hospital, who shall keep anything of his own on deposit in the Treasury this side the sea or beyond, in any part of the House where it shall be customary to keep treasure or deposits, that his bailiff may not appropriate (lever) for himself what is deposited, under sentence (justice) of the Quarantaine.

7. CONCERNING THE EQUIPMENT OF THE BROTHER WHO COMES THIS SIDE THE SEA.—Item, it is added to the Statutes, which speaks of brethren, knights or serjeants, who come this side the sea without equipment⁴ ; (for the brother knights) 2000 Tournois of silver, and the brother serjeants 1500 Tournois of silver, and the

¹ The Turcopolier commanded the native light cavalry, called Turcoples, in the pay of the Order : until this date the Turcopolier was always selected from the Serjeants-at-Arms, presumably by the Marshal, the office was now raised in dignity, the Turcopolier became one of the Capitular Bailiffs, and only Knights were eligible.

² This is the same pittance of money and wine, as was laid down for the Admiral on the institution of that office. See Para. 13 of 1300, p. 105.

³ Rogera was like Quillac a wine-growing district in Cyprus, probably near Limassol.

⁴ They were liable to be sent back beyond the sea under Para. 5 of 1293, p. 95 : the sum of 2,000 Deniers Tournois, the cost of the outfit, is the amount laid down in Para. 26 bis of 1262, p. 60.

Donats likewise, those who should desire to become brethren.

E. THE CHAPTER-GENERAL OF 1304

THESE ARE THE STATUTES MADE AND ORDAINED AT THE CHAPTER-GENERAL HELD AT LIMASSOL IN THE YEAR OF THE INCARNATION OF OUR LORD 1304 ON THE TWENTY-THIRD DAY OF NOVEMBER.¹

1. Firstly, it is decreed that if God summon to Himself any Capitular Bailiff this side the sea, that all the things which shall be found with him should come into the hands of the Master, save money which should come to the Treasury, and saving armour and beasts and saddles for battle² or Turkish saddles or others, which come into the hands of the Marshal, but if the Master have need of such things for his own use or for his Companions, he may take them. Concerning the personal clothing (*robe de vestir*) it should all be given up to the Drapier to distribute for God's sake. Also the Drapier shall have the buckrams, all woollen cloth that has been cut, linen cloth that has been cut, blankets, coverlets, sheets, bed-testers, camlet that has been cut, kerchiefs, embroidered turbans, purses, oreilletts embroidered with thread or silk, provided that it is not gold or silver thread, bucklers, birettas, brimmed hats, coifs, laces of mantles, nets, straps.³ The bed in which

¹ The Latin version ends with the words 'quinta pars noscitur esse talis'.

² The French version here has 'selles d'armes'; in Para. 9 of 1265, p. 70, it has 'selle galegue'; the Latin version in both cases has 'sella armorum', that is the heavy massive saddle used by the Knight in battle.

³ The French version reads: 'les bocarans et tous les dras de laine entamés, teles entamées, sarges de lit, covertors, lenceaus, esparviers, chamelos entamées, corichef, touaillons rechamés, borsses, aureiliers rechames de fil ou de soie,—terayes, chapeaus de bonet et d'ombres, coifes, las de manteaus, rases, lanieres'. The Latin version reads: 'buquerannos omnesque pannos lane non integros, sargias lecti, cortinas subtileisque de sargia, paleatos sacos lecti, coopertoria, linteamina, sparverios, camellatos non integros, cubre-

the Bailiff shall die, that is to say the coverlet, the sheets, the blankets, the mattress, should remain in the Infirmary ; the canopy (chapella) and cloth of gold, if there be any, are for the church, any coverlet of silk for the Palais des Malades.

2. CONCERNING A BROTHER WHEN GOD SUMMONS HIM FROM THE CONVENT THIS SIDE THE SEA.—Item, it is decreed that if God summon to Himself any brother of the Convent this side the sea, that all the things which shall be found with him, should come into the hands of the Marshal, save money which should come to the Treasury, and saving the personal clothing and the other things, which should come into the hands of the Drapier, just as is decreed above in the case of the Bailiffs. The bed in which the brother shall die, that is to say the coverlet, the sheets, the blanket and the mattress, should remain in the Infirmary ; cloth of gold should be for the church, coverlets of silk for the Palais des Malades. And if the Master should keep with him any ancient prud'homme of the Convent,¹ who is not a Capitular Bailiff, if he die this side the sea, that all his equipment (arnois) shall come into the hands of the Marshal, save money which should come to the Treasury, and the clothing (robe) and the other things, which the Drapier should have, just as is said above in the case of the Bailiffs. Cloth of gold, if there be any, should be for the church, coverlets of silk should be for the Palais des Malades.

3. CONCERNING A BROTHER-AT-OFFICE, WHEN GOD SHALL SUMMON HIM THIS SIDE THE SEA.—Item, it is decreed that if God summon to himself any brother-at-office this side the sea, that all the things which shall be found, should come into the hands of the Grand Commander, save money which should come to the Treasury, and

capita tovallones operatos, bursas et aureliarios filo aut sirico operatos . . . targias, capucia boneti et umbre, cueufas, cordonos mantelli, razas, lanerias'.

¹ Compare with this Para. 18 of 1301, p. 114.

save armour which should come to the hands of the Marshal, and save the clothing (robe) and the other things, just as is decreed above, which should come into the hands of the Drapier ; cloth of gold should be for the church, coverlets of silk should be for the Palais des Malades.

4. CONCERNING BRETHREN WHO SHALL BE IN THE PALAIS DES MALADES AND ARE UNDER THE ORDERS OF THE HOSPITALLER.—Item, it is decreed that the brethren, who shall be in the Palais des Malades, and are under the orders of the Hospitaller, that if God summon them, that all the things which shall be found with them, should come into the hands of the Hospitaller, save money which should come to the Treasury, and save armour and beasts, which should come into the hands of the Marshal, and the personal clothing and the other things, just as is decreed above, which should come into the hands of the Drapier ; cloth of gold should be for the church, coverlets of silk should be for the Palais des Malades.

5. CONCERNING BAILIFFS APPOINTED BY CHAPTER-GENERAL THIS SIDE THE SEA.—Item, it is decreed concerning the Bailiffs, who are appointed by Chapter-General, that is to say Grand Commanders, Marshals or Hospitallers, or Drapiers, or Admirals, or Turcopoliars, or Treasurers, or Commanders of Cyprus, or Commanders or Castellans in Syria, or those who have been Priors beyond the sea, or Castellans of Amposta, or Commanders of the Holy Trinity of Venusia, or Commanders of St. Euphemia, or Commanders of the Morea,¹ if they die this side the sea, that their things should come into the hands of the Master, save money which should come to the Treasury, and save the rights of the Marshal and of the Drapier and of the others, just as is decreed above concerning Capitular Bailiffs.

¹ The Commander of the Holy Trinity of Venusia is first mentioned in Para. 2 of 1301, p. 110, the Commanders of St. Euphemia and of the Morea in Para. 1 of 1294, p. 97.

And if they die beyond the sea, that the money which shall be found with them, comes to the Treasury ; the plate (vaise) and other jewels shall come into the hands of the Master.

6. CONCERNING ENVOYS WHOM THE PRIORS SEND THIS SIDE THE SEA.—Item, it is decreed concerning the envoys whom the Priors send this side the sea, if God summon them to Himself this side the sea or on this side of Crete, that it shall be thus, when they shall have admitted what is their own ; that is to say the money shall come to the Treasury, the armour to the Marshal ; the clothing (robe) and the other things, just as is decreed above, come into the hands of the Drapier. And if the said envoys shall admit that they have money, or jewels, or other things, which belong to their Priors or to others, those things should be given up to their Priors or to the others, to whom the things belong.

7. CONCERNING THOSE BRETHREN WHO SHALL BE SENT THIS SIDE THE SEA, WHO DIE THIS SIDE OF CRETE.—Item, it is decreed concerning the brethren, who die this side of Crete, that the money which shall be found with them, comes to the Treasury, the armour to the Marshal ; the clothing (robe) and the other things, as is decreed, come into the hands of the Drapier ; cloth of gold, if there be any, to the church ; coverlets of silk to the Palais des Malades.

8. CONCERNING THE MARSHAL WHEN HE GOES TO ORDER WATER FOR THE BRETHREN IN THE DORMITORY OR IN THEIR CELLS FOR ABSENCE FROM MATINS.—Item, that when the Marshal shall go to order water to the dormitory or in the cells (places) of the brethren of the Convent, all those whom he shall not find in their cells, or who shall not have been in the church before he shall have left the minster, should drink water.¹

9. CONCERNING BRETHREN WHO SHALL BE UNDER SENTENCE.—Item, it is decreed that brethren, who shall

¹ Compare with this Para. 5 of 1262, Para. 28 of 1301, pp. 54, 116, and *Judgements and Customs*, Para. 119, p. 191.

be under sentence (en justice), should be served with such bread as the brethren shall use in the Convent.

10. Item, it is recorded that a brother should not be under sentence, unless a complaint should be lodged against him.

11. CONCERNING THE INFIRMARIAN THAT HE BE BOUND EACH YEAR AT THE CHAPTER-GENERAL TO GIVE AN ACCOUNT OF THE COVERLETS AND OF THE SHEETS AND OF THE BLANKETS.—Item, it is decreed that the Infirmary should be bound each year at the Chapter-General to give in writing the quantity of coverlets and of sheets and of blankets and of mattresses, that he shall have in the Infirmary, and that shall have been added during that year.

12. WHEN ANY CAPITULAR BAILIFF SHALL LEAVE THE CONVENT TO GO BEYOND THE SEA ON A MISSION.—Item, it is decreed that when any Capitular Bailiff shall leave the Convent to go beyond the sea on a mission, that the Master with the advice of the prud'hommes may appoint any prud'homme in his place, of that Tongue or of another, until he shall have returned ; and if any things have escheated to the bailiwick, that he who shall take the place of the said Bailiff, should render an account of the things which shall have escheated to the bailiwick, when he shall have returned from the said mission.

13.¹ Item, it is decreed that every Prior or Bailiff or brother, of whatsoever rank he may be, who has raised a loan upon a hostel or house or land or possession or other things ; of whatsoever nature the loan may be, that if God summon to Himself that Bailiff or other brother, that he who shall come after him may not make any composition or discharge of the aforesaid loan, until the loan has run its course to the end.

14. Item, it is decreed that a brother of the Hospital may not have a bailiwick, if he shall not have been a

¹ This and the following paragraphs are taken from another MS., which has no rubrics.

brother for three years, and the Priors may not and must not give nor entrust to them in their Priories.

15. Item, it is decreed that the Priors may not and must not give or entrust a castle, nor appoint a brother to be castellan of a castle, unless he shall have been our brother five years.

16. Item, it is decreed that when the Chapter-General shall have begun, that it may last ten days and no longer,¹ and if it seem good to the Master and the prud'hommes to keep the Chapter-General in session (*overt*) for a longer period, that session may not be extended or maintained more than eight days, and in that period and in that same place where the Chapter shall have been held, the Master with the plain counsel of the Bailiffs and of the ancients who shall be around him, may ordain concerning new things which shall have supervened, concerning which mention shall not have been made before the prud'hommes in the said Chapter, which do not cause offence or harm to anything which shall have been ordained by the said Chapter; and may also ordain concerning the same things of which mention shall have been made in the said Chapter, if they shall be specially committed to him. And that which shall be done otherwise, may not continue or be valid.

17. Item, the statute which was made that every year two Priors or more should be recalled, especially those who shall have resided (away) the longest, is repealed and broken.²

18. Item, the statutes which have been made concerning Germany are confirmed.³

¹ Under Statute 12 of 1300, p. 104, power had been given to prolong the session of Chapter-General up to ten days, power is now given to prolong it a further eight days, the remainder of the paragraph is a repetition of Statute 12 of 1300. The later Statutes, Title VI, Para. 14, give the total duration of Chapter-General as fifteen days.

² The Statute thus repealed is Para. 12 of 1301, p. 112.

³ These Statutes were passed in the Chapter-General of 1301, pp. 119, 120.

XII

STATUTES OF FR. FULK DE VILLARET 1305-10

- A. Chapter-General of 1305*
- B. Chapter-General of 1306*

A. THE CHAPTER-GENERAL OF 1305

THESE ARE THE STATUTES MADE AND ORDAINED AT THE CHAPTER-GENERAL HELD AT LIMASSOL BY THE RELIGIOUS BROTHER FULK DE VILLARET, HONOURABLE MASTER OF THE HOUSE OF THE HOSPITAL OF SAINT JOHN OF JERUSALEM, IN THE YEAR OF THE INCARNATION OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST 1305 ON THE THIRD DAY OF THE MONTH OF NOVEMBER.¹

Firstly it is decreed that a brother may not wear mantle, nor cape (rondel), nor cassock (chappe), nor long coat (hargant),² of any colour of cloth except black; and he who shall offend should undergo the Septaine, and lose the said robe.

B. THE CHAPTER-GENERAL OF 1306

THESE ARE THE STATUTES WHICH OUR BROTHER FULK DE VILLARET, BY THE GRACE OF GOD OF THE HOLY

¹ The Statutes of Fulk de Villaret were repealed in the Chapter-General held at Rhodes by the Master Elyon de Villeneuve in 1332, in accordance with a papal bull cancelling all the decrees of this Master. But one of the Statutes of 1305, three of those of 1306, and twelve of those of the Chapter-General held at Rhodes in 1311, were considered sufficiently satisfactory to be confirmed.

² The hargant, or long coat, is also mentioned in Para. 7 of 1288, p. 89.

HOUSE OF THE HOSPITAL OF SAINT JOHN OF JERUSALEM
HUMBLE MASTER, AND GUARDIAN OF CHRIST'S POOR,
HAS MADE AND ORDAINED IN OUR CHAPTER-GENERAL AT
LIMASSOL IN THE KINGDOM OF CYPRUS, IN THE YEAR OF
OUR LORD 1306 ON THE THIRD DAY OF NOVEMBER, HELD
AS IS CUSTOMARY.

1. Firstly, we ordain that when it happens that any bailiwick is given to any brother in the Priories beyond the sea by Chapter-General, for life or for a period, it should be considered carefully to whom the aforesaid donation should be made. And then it should be held without restriction in such manner that it cannot be revoked, except under the Seal of the Convent and by the ordinance of Chapter-General. And if it should happen that such brother be accused of anything by which he might lose his bailiwick, he should be summoned this side the sea by Chapter-General, or he may be permitted to send his excuse this side the sea by his own envoy.¹ And when that excuse has been heard and considered, we and our Convent will do and ordain, as shall seem to us proper.

2. Item, we ordain that if any injury or harm should be done to any brother in the Priories beyond the sea by their Commander or their Bailiff, of whose obedience they are subject, concerning which injury or harm the said brother demand that the Esgart des Frères² should be formed and held, and his Bailiff or his Commander refuse to hold for him the said Esgart, then the said brother thus aggrieved may go to his Prior, in whatever place he may be, to set forth his rights and his complaint. And if the Prior refuse to grant and do him right and justice, or to hold Esgart des Frères, that it be permitted to the said brother on his own authority to come this side the sea to us the Master to set forth his rights.

¹ Compare with this Para. 19 of 1302, p. 127.

² Compare with this Para. 3 of 1293, and Para. 2 of 1300, pp. 94, 102.

3. Item, if any Commander or Bailiff should be aggrieved or molested by his Prior, and if the said Bailiff or Commander so aggrieved demand that Esgart des Frères be held there by his Prior, if the Prior refuse it to the said Commander or Bailiff to hold the said Esgart, then the said Commander or Bailiff may come to us the Master to set forth his rights, without requiring permission.

PART II

THE JUDGEMENTS AND CUSTOMS

I

THE CONVENTUAL LIFE OF THE HOSPITALLERS

THE detailed code of regulations known as the *Judgements and Customs of the Hospital*, drawn up by Fr. William de St. Estène at the end of the thirteenth century, is divided into two parts. Firstly the 87 Judgements (Esgarts), or decisions given by Chapter-General on specific cases, and regarded as applicable to all similar cases, and secondly the 50 Customs (Usances), constituting the traditional procedure of the Order, committed to writing by experienced brethren, but without any recorded decision of Chapter-General on the points concerned. The earliest of these regulations are doubtless 'the good customs of the House' referred to in the Statutes of Margat, where they state that 'the Master, when he shall be elected, should promise in Chapter that he will maintain the Good Customs of the House and the Statutes', etc., some of them therefore must have been in existence before the days of the Master Alfonso of Portugal.¹ Additions were made from time to time, embodying and amplifying later decisions of Chapter-General, and the whole code, governing the

¹ Delaville Le Roulx is curiously vague and indefinite regarding the age of the *Judgements and Customs*. See his footnote on pp. 536, 537 of the *Cartulaire-Général*, Vol. II.

daily life of the brethren, brings before us more vividly than anything else can do, the kind of life normally led by the Knights of the Hospital, during the first two centuries of their history, in the days of their primitive faith and zeal, while their Convent was still in the Holy Land, and they were as yet uncorrupted by wealth and luxury.

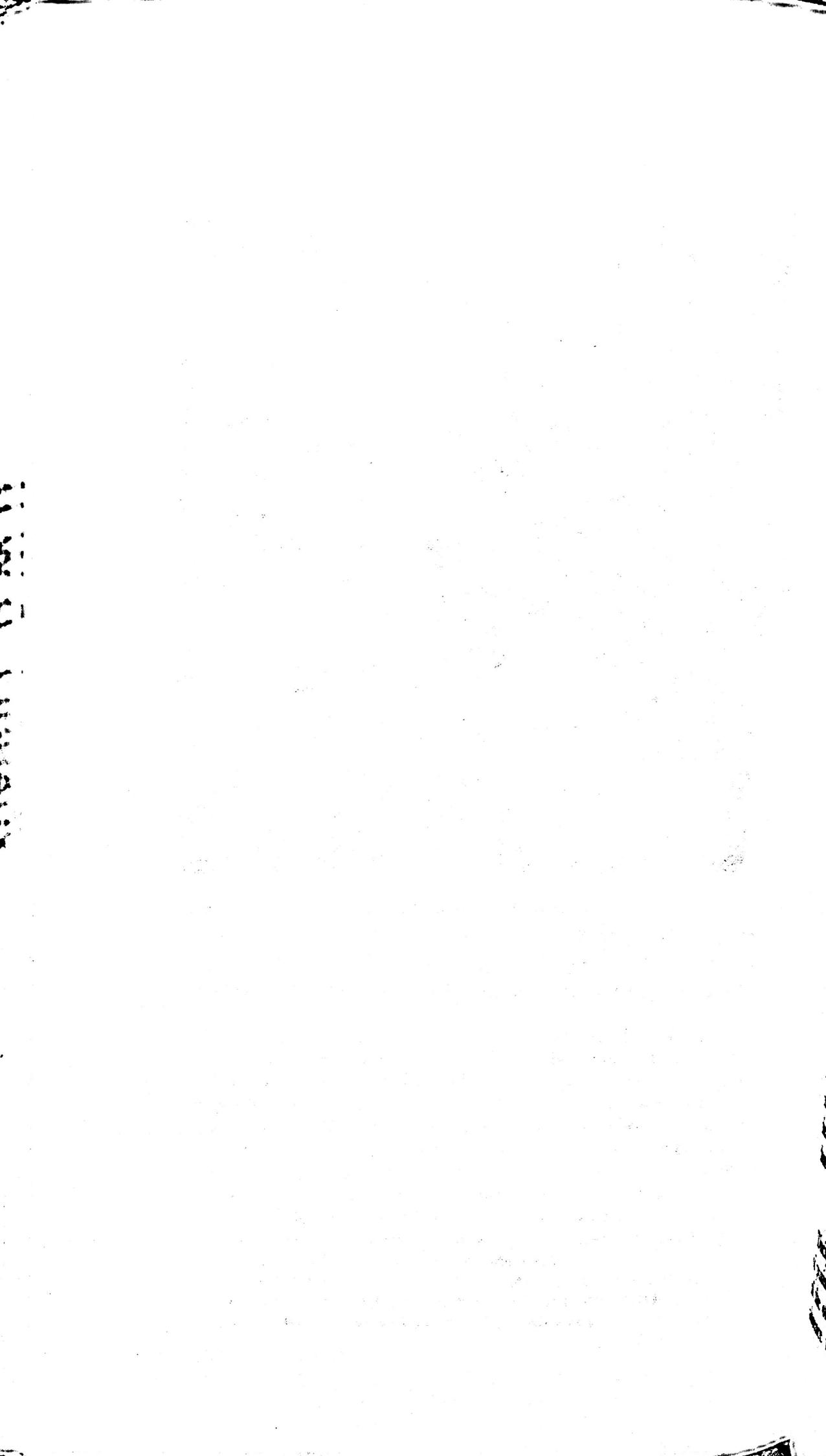
ORGANIZATION OF THE CONVENT

From the *Judgements* we learn how the Convent was organized, what offences against discipline the brethren were liable to commit, the nature of the penalties that they thereby incurred, and how the Bailiffs were responsible for the maintenance of discipline. The military brethren, of whom the great majority were Knights, rather less than 20 per cent. being Serjeants-at-Arms,¹ came under the Marshal. The Chaplains, never very many, were naturally under the Prior, and the numerous body of Serjeants-at-Office came under the Grand Commander. These latter were very rarely professed brethren, but simply domestic servants on a one-year engagement. The Esquires, two to every Knight and one to every Serjeant-at-Arms, were not professed brethren, and were under the Master Equerry, a Serjeant-at-Arms responsible to the Marshal, and the Turcopoles, or native horse bowmen, were under the Turcopolier, also

¹ Originally in the Middle Ages the heavy cavalry were known collectively as Milites or Knights. Towards the end of the twelfth century a definite distinction had begun to be made between those of noble birth and those not of noble birth, the former only continuing to be styled Milites or Knights, and the latter being styled Servientes or Serjeants. Later still, in the thirteenth century, when the term Knight was applied only to the comparatively small number of distinguished persons solemnly invested with that dignity, those who had not attained to knighthood tended to amalgamate with the class of Serjeants, who were thus raised in status and ultimately regarded as belonging to the class of the lesser nobility, or gentry. See Oman's *Art of War in the Middle Ages*, Vol. I, pp. 371-4.



THE CONVENTUAL DRESS OF THE HOSPITALLERS
From the Painting by Pinturicchio at Siena



until 1303 a Serjeant-at-Arms responsible to the Marshal. The Donats, always very few, presumably came under the Grand Commander. No doubt the Hospitaller, the Drapier and the Treasurer were responsible for the discipline of those employed in their respective bailiwicks, though it is nowhere explicitly stated.

In later times, after the conquest of Rhodes, when the establishment of the Convent was very much larger, this system was greatly modified, the brethren being organized by Nations or Tongues, that is according to the languages that they spoke, at the head of each Tongue being one of the Bailiffs of the Convent, responsible for its discipline. But there was a natural tendency from the first to consult with the brethren concerned in matters relating exclusively to their Tongues, as we see from Para. 4 of the Statutes of Margat. Originally it is probable that only four Tongues were recognized corresponding to the grouping of the Priories beyond the sea under the Grand Commanders of France, Italy, Spain and Germany. But the French Tongue, which at first included England, was disproportionately large in numbers, and before the end of the twelfth century had split into the two Tongues of Provence and France. When England began to constitute a separate Tongue is uncertain, but it was probably about the end of the same century, and the Tongue of Auvergne was probably formed out of the Tongue of Provence during the first half of the thirteenth century. At any rate by the year 1295 seven Tongues were recognized in the Convent, as we know from the scheme of reform drawn up in that year (see Appendix B), and there is nothing to indicate that this arrangement was then new.

PUNISHMENTS

Discipline was maintained in the Convent by a series of punishments, five in number, according to the gravity of the offence. For trivial and minor offences, such as absence from Matins, the brethren were deprived of

their wine by their Bailiffs, and placed upon water, and they might also be deprived of their cooked food (see Para. 58). Even the Bailiffs themselves might be given this punishment by the Master, who had the power to place the entire Convent upon water, if he thought fit (see Para. 89). For the more serious offences the standard punishments were the Septaine and the Quarantine, the penances of seven days and forty days respectively, laid down in the Rule of Raymond du Puy, to which even the Bailiffs were liable. These punishments were very severe ; the brethren during the entire period were compelled to fast (see Para. 104), eating their meals not at table with the rest of the Convent, but seated upon their mantles on the ground,¹ and on Wednesdays and Fridays receiving nothing but bread and water. On these days they had also to submit to the discipline, that is to corporal punishment in church in the presence of the Convent. Those undergoing the Septaine, removing their mantles, knelt before the altar, and were flogged across the shoulders by a priest, whilst the psalm ' Deus misereatur nostris ' was recited, followed by certain prayers. But those undergoing the Quarantine received the discipline barefooted and stripped to the waist, whilst the psalm ' Miserere mei Deus ' was recited, followed by the same prayers.² A Bailiff sentenced to the Quarantine was automatically deprived of his office, but this part of his sentence might be remitted by the Master (see Para. 91). As regards the maintenance of discipline outside the Convent, in the words of Para. 94, ' Every Bailiff in his bailiwick is in the place of the Master '.

¹ See the Rule of Raymond du Puy, Para. 10, and the incident in *Joinville's Chronicle*, Marzial's Translation, pp. 262, 263.

² This manner of carrying out the Septaine and the Quarantine was confirmed as late as 1603 at the Chapter-General held by the Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt. See Statutes, Title XVIII, 54, 55. Actual corporal punishment fell into disuse after the sixteenth century according to Porter's *Knights of Malta*, Vol. II, p. 247.

EXPULSION FROM THE ORDER

For graver offences for which the Quarantine was not regarded as a sufficient punishment, a brother was deprived of his habit, that is expelled from the Order, and might then also be committed to prison (see Para. 3). But if a brother should later show true repentance, and plead for pardon, he might at the end of a reasonable period be re-admitted to the Order, after first undergoing the Quarantine. One result of being deprived of his habit was that a brother thereupon became liable to punishment by the civil authorities like any other layman. For very grave offences such as heresy, false witness, going to the Saracens, unnatural vice, and desertion when on active service, a brother was deprived of his habit for ever, without hope of pardon.

PROCEDURE

Normally offences against discipline were dealt with in the ordinary weekly Chapter, presided over by the Master, or in his absence by whoever was acting for him. The procedure was perfectly simple; the Bailiff, or the Prior, in the case of the Chaplains, made his complaint, the Master called for an explanation from the accused, if necessary heard witnesses, and then gave his decision. As a protection against any form of abuse of authority, every brother had the right to demand *Esgart des Frères*, that is judgement by his brethren. What this court consisted of at this period is not clear, but to judge from later procedure, it was a small committee of brethren, representing all the Tongues, with a Bailiff appointed by the Master as president.¹ Every complaint had to be brought before the next Chapter, unless specially reserved, and sometimes complaints were reserved for the next Chapter-General.

¹ For a detailed account of the procedure of the Court of Egard in later times, see Boisgelin, *Malta Ancient and Modern*, Book II, Chapter III.

CORRECTION

It was the duty of every brother to co-operate in the maintenance of discipline.¹ If he witnessed or knew of the misconduct of one of his brethren, he must reprove him, if he then failed to amend his ways, he must 'chastise him well on the back' alone privately (see Para. 45a), if that failed he must again chastise him in the presence of two or three brethren, and only if he still failed to amend was he to be reported to the Bailiff. The brother who reported another without having first corrected him, underwent the same penalty as the culprit, and the brother who was unable to prove the accusation that he brought against another, suffered the punishment that the accused would have suffered, if found guilty.

RELIGIOUS EXERCISES

From the *Customs of the Hospital* we learn how the brethren were admitted, the manner of their daily life in the Convent, how the Chapter-General was held, and what personal possessions were allowed to the brethren. The daily life of the Convent obviously differed little in the Military Orders, so far as routine was concerned, from that of the other Religious Orders, and was exceedingly strict. The day began with Matins, said just after midnight, followed immediately by Lauds, which would begin about one o'clock, after which the brethren returned to bed. The next service was Prime at seven o'clock, followed by the early Mass, or Missa Familiaris, for the Serjeants-at-Office, at which the brethren were not bound to be present. After Prime the brethren performed their toilet, and had their breakfast or Mixtum, consisting of bread and wine. The next duty was the Morning Mass about eight-thirty, often called the Lady Mass and sometimes called the Chapter Mass in other religious orders, where it was followed by the daily

¹ See the Rule of Raymond du Puy, Para. 17, p. 27, which is based upon St. Matthew xviii. 15-17.

Chapter. But in the House of the Hospital the Master's Chapter was held weekly on Sundays. After the Morning Mass there was an interval of about one hour, during which the discussions took place, sometimes called the Parliament, when the brethren gathered together in groups in the Cloisters to discuss spiritual matters, or necessary business. High Mass began at ten o'clock, but unless the Hour of Tierce had been said before the Morning Mass, it preceded the High Mass. Dinner followed at eleven o'clock ; during the meal silence was strictly enforced, and a selected brother read portions of the scriptures to his brethren. After dinner a second table was served for all those who for any reason were unable to be present at the first table. The midday meal was followed by another service in the church, when the Hour of None was said, except on those special days, when it preceded dinner. In summer, since the brethren then went to bed an hour later, dinner was followed by a rest for one hour in the dormitory, before the Hour of None was said.

MILITARY EXERCISES

The whole of the first half of the day had thus been devoted to prayer and religious exercises, except in the case of those brethren actually engaged in a tour of duty in the Hospital, who 'guarding and watching them day and night should serve the sick poor with zeal and devotion as if they were their lords'.¹ The afternoon was given up to work, recreation, and to those military exercises so essential to military efficiency. From later Statutes and regulations we learn that the military brethren had to attend not less than three afternoons a week for gymnastics, wrestling, drill, exercises in arms, and shooting with the cross-bow, and there was a prize for marksmanship every two months. At the end of their period of work or exercise the brethren returned to the Cloisters, and went to the Refectory for an afternoon

¹ See the Statutes of Roger des Moulins, Para. 10, p. 37.

drink. Vespers were said at five o'clock in winter, at six in summer, then followed supper, and grace was finished in church. At seven-thirty, or an hour earlier in winter, the brethren assembled in the chapter-room for the Collation or evening reading, which was followed by bread and wine, on those days when no supper was served. At eight o'clock in summer, at seven in winter, the Hour of Compline was said, and then the brethren retired to the dormitory, until they were aroused at midnight for Matins of the following day.

PRIVATE POSSESSIONS

As in all religious orders the brethren of the Hospital were forbidden to possess private property, and in theory everything was to be held in common.¹ But in practice, more especially in the Military Orders, certain personal possessions were unavoidable, such as arms and accoutrements, horses, clothing and equipment, besides devotional books. With changing standards of culture and civilization, there was always the possibility that such personal possessions might exceed what was desirable or reasonable in a religious order, and to guard against this a brother was compelled to ask permission of the Master to retain them (see Paras. 29 and 99). When seriously ill a brother had to render a complete account of his possessions to the Conventional Prior (see Para. 110); this was known as his 'disproprium', and on his death these possessions, technically known as 'spoils', were distributed among the various departments of the Order (see Paras. 111-18). At a later period a brother was permitted to leave by will one-fifth part of his personal possessions to whomsoever he thought fit.

THE COUNCIL AND CHAPTER

In his governance of the Order the Master was assisted by his Council, by the ordinary Chapter, and by the Chapter-General. The Council, which he assembled

¹ See the Rule of Raymond du Puy, Paras. 1 and 13, pp. 20, 25.

whenever he desired its advice, consisted of the Bailiffs of the Convent and the senior brethren of each Tongue (see Para. 89). The ordinary Chapter, which presumably was attended by all the brethren in residence, was held on Sundays (see Para. 121) after the Morning Mass. At Chapter new brethren were received, disciplinary cases were dealt with, and all the normal business of the Convent was transacted. The greatest stress was laid upon the confidential nature of all proceedings in Chapter, as was the case in all the religious orders, and any brother revealing anything that took place in Chapter was sentenced to the Quarantaine (see Paras. 75, 82). One of the most ridiculous of the charges brought against the unfortunate Templars was the secrecy of the proceedings in their Chapters, in which respect they differed in no way from other religious orders.

THE CHAPTER - GENERAL

The Chapter-General, the supreme legislative body of the Order, met at such times as the Master might deem fit. Since it consisted of the whole of the Capitular Bailiffs of the Order, both those serving in the East, and those from beyond the sea,¹ to assemble the Chapter-General involved the Order in very heavy expenditure. Normally it appears to have met about every five years, but under the Master Hugh Revel it met no fewer than eight times between 1262-76, and it met annually under the Master John de Villiers and his successor from 1292-5, and annually under the two Villarets from 1300-6. It seems difficult to believe that the Bailiffs d'outremer were called up every year on these occasions.

PROMOTION

The brethren of the Hospital were for the most part the younger sons of noble families, and while the life of the Convent was hard, and the discipline severe, yet

¹ See Para. 109 and the Statutes of Margat, Paras. 2, 3, pp. 43, 44.

it offered them a far better career than most of them could have hoped for in secular life. The one great drawback was that for them marriage was illegal and impossible. We learn from later regulations the nature of the career that the Hospital could offer. The recruit was as a rule received in the Priory in which he was born, and was not sent out to the Convent until he had reached twenty years of age; until then he was presumably one of the brother novices referred to in Para. 9 of the *Judgements*. After three years' residence in the Convent,¹ later altered to five years, including three caravans or campaigns, he became eligible for appointment to a bailiwick, and in course of time was appointed a Commander in his native land, which gave him the same social standing as one of the large landowners. The appointments were made at first by the Priors and Provincial Chapters, until in 1354 the Master Peter de Corneillan deprived them of powers, which the Priors had grossly abused, and transferred them to the Master in Council. Henceforward all such appointments were made on the nomination in the Convent of the Assembly of the Tongue concerned.

A Commander might be transferred from a poorer commandery to a richer commandery in his own country, as vacancies occurred, and if a Knight, after fifteen years' service, including ten years' residence in the Convent, was eligible to be appointed a Capitular Bailiff. He might now be appointed one of the five Bailiffs of the Convent, or a Bailiff of Syria or a Prior in his native land. These appointments were made by the Master and Chapter-General, but in the case of the Priors with the advice of the brethren of the Tongue concerned. As a Prior of his Order, a brother of the Hospital ranked as one of the greater nobility of his country with a seat in the House of Lords. From the number of the Capitular Bailiffs the Master was as a rule selected. Commanders and Priors were originally appointed for a limited period,

¹ See Statute 14 of 1304, p. 134.

afterwards returning to the Convent, but gradually they obtained a vested interest in their appointments, which were usually made by seniority, though occasionally 'of Grace' (see Para. 109), and in practice they eventually became irremovable except for definite misconduct. A due proportion of Commanderies was always reserved for the Chaplains and Serjeants-at-Arms.

THE ELECTION OF THE MASTER

The earliest account of how the Master was elected is to be found in the Statutes of Margat. On the death of the Master a Chapter-General was specially summoned, consisting of the Bailiffs of the Convent, the Bailiffs of Syria, and certain selected brethren.¹ They first elected a Commander to preside over the Chapter, and then one brother from each class, a Priest, a Knight and a Serjeant-at-Arms later called the Triumvirate. These three co-opted a fourth, the four co-opted a fifth, and so on up to thirteen, and the thirteen elected the Master. Under this system the Triumvirate, and consequently the whole thirteen electors must often have consisted of Frenchmen only, since the three French Tongues always outnumbered the other four Tongues. To meet this difficulty the Master John de Villiers apparently decreed that each Tongue should elect a delegate, and that these seven delegates should elect the Triumvirate. This change did not, however, ensure that each Tongue should be represented among the thirteen Electors, until the Master Raymond Bérenger decreed that they should be taken from all the Tongues equally, except Germany, by whom one elector only was furnished.

There are many copies of the *Judgements and Customs* in existence, and in various languages, French, Provençal, Catalan, Italian and Latin. The oldest version of the *Judgements* is that compiled by Fr. William de St. Estène, Commander of Cyprus, between 1287 and 1290; it is in old French, and is printed in the *Cartulaire-Général* with

¹ See the Statutes of Margat, Para. 5, p. 45.

a series of footnotes giving the omissions or additions contained in two other French MSS. The first of these two later versions was also compiled by Fr. William de St. Estène about 1303; it is in a peculiar dialect of old French, which Delaville Le Roux believed to be that of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. It is provided with rubrics, and includes the 'Customs' as well as the 'Judgements'. The second was compiled in 1315 by Fr. Daniel de St. Estène, a Knight of the Priory of Lombardy. In all the later MSS. the various clauses are numbered and arranged in a totally different manner to these three, and are evidently based upon some other compilation.¹ They contain in addition certain other clauses, of which the rubrics are as follows :

- 111-126. Concerning a brother who shall betray his trust.
127. Which replies to a question on the manner of chastisement.
128. Which deals with the manner in which the commandment of the Gospel and of our Rule is kept.
131. These are the fasts which the brethren should keep.
132. These are the festivals which they observe in the Hospital.

¹ See *Cartulaire-Général*, Vol. II, pp. 536, 537.

II

THE JUDGEMENTS (ESGARTS)

THESE ARE THE JUDGEMENTS WHICH HAVE BEEN USED IN THE HOUSE FROM OF OLD.

1. A brother who shall be sentenced to the Septaine should undergo discipline, and the priest shall say the orisons or prayers, just as is customary, and after the discipline the brother should dutifully receive the kiss from his Master.

2. If a brother be sentenced to the Quarantine, he should receive discipline stripped and barefooted, and after he shall be dressed again, he should give the kiss to his Bailiff.

3. If the Commander order any brother of his bailiwick to go upon any business of the House, and he shall not do it, he should undergo the Septaine ; and if he order him again and he do it not, he shall undergo the Septaine. If the third time he order him upon his obedience, and he do it not, he shall undergo the Quarantine. And if he do it not on being ordered for the fourth time, he shall lose his habit, and let him be put in prison, and so long as he shall be there, let him be given nothing but bread and water ; and afterwards if he beg for pardon, he shall recover his habit, and shall undergo the Quarantine, and afterwards shall be sent wheresoever the Commander shall order.

4. If a brother be proved to lie (*gesir*) in the town for any pleasure (*desduit*), or for fear of his Commander, or for sickness, without orders, and in that town there be a house of the Hospital, or near to the town, and

he would not lie there, let him lose his habit ; and afterwards if he beg for pardon, let him be received, and for as long as he was away from the House let him be treated as a stranger¹; and after the time is finished, let the Prior and brethren restore to him his habit, and he shall undergo the Quarantaine.

5. If anyone be under sentence by Esgart des Frères, and he shall be ordered by his Master or by his Commander to any house to complete the sentence, the Commander of that house, where the brother shall be ordered by his superior (soverain), may not raise him from the ground² on any festival that may occur. And if the Commander of the House, lower in rank than a Prior, put any brother under sentence, if the Prior be not there, whosoever shall be in his place, or his superior, shall have the right to raise him.

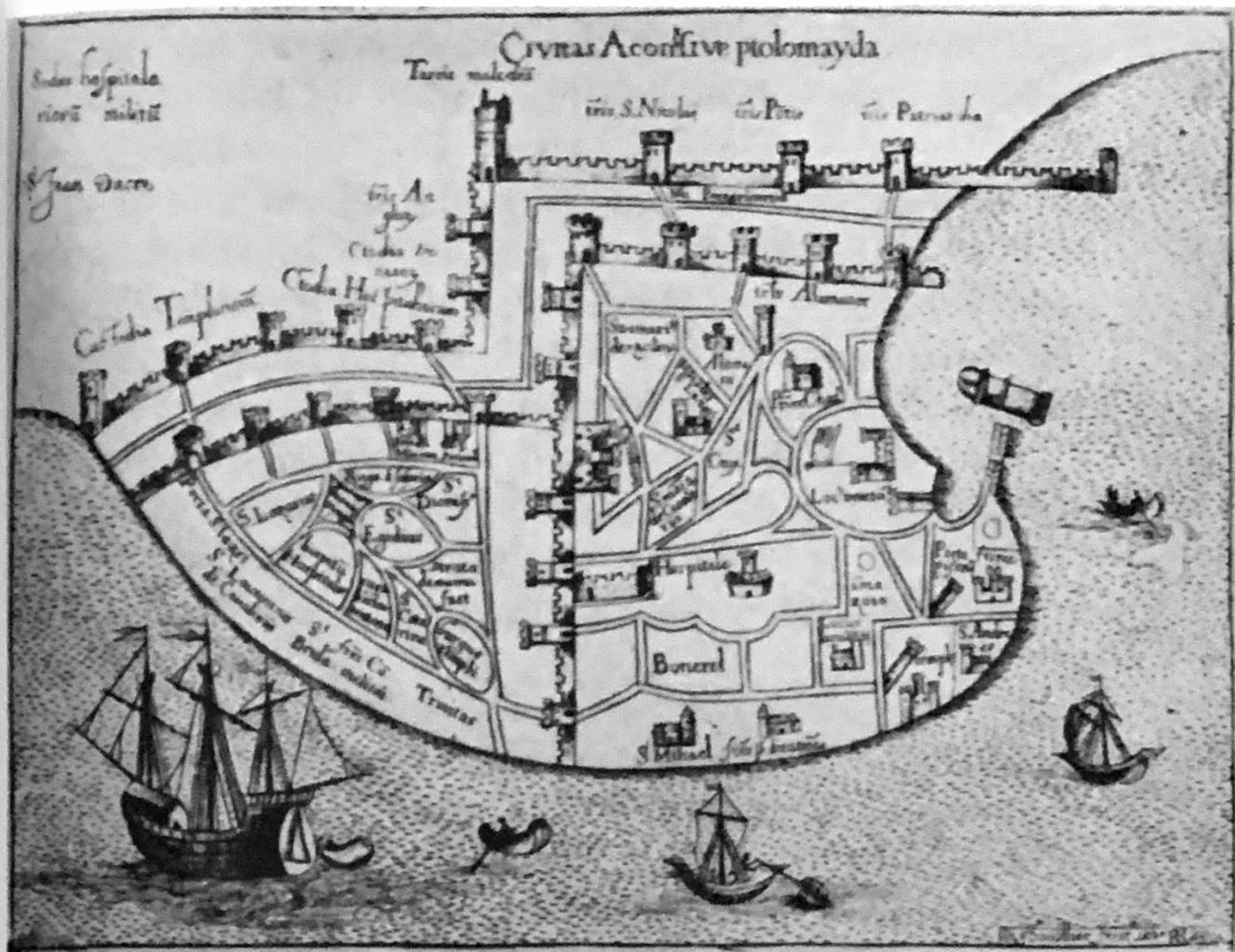
6. A brother, if he shall get drunk, the first time should be chastised, the second time let him undergo the Septaine, the third time the Quarantaine, and the fourth time, and let him drink no wine for one year ; and afterwards if the Master and the brethren catch him again, and he do not chastise himself, let him be cast into a house, where he may find no abundance of wine.

7. If any brother requisition in the town money or cloth, and the Prior shall know of it, and ask him the truth, and the brother admit it, let him undergo the Quarantaine ; and if he admit not the truth, and then it be proved, let him be treated as a thief, and lose his habit ; and afterwards let him be dealt with at the discretion of the Commander.

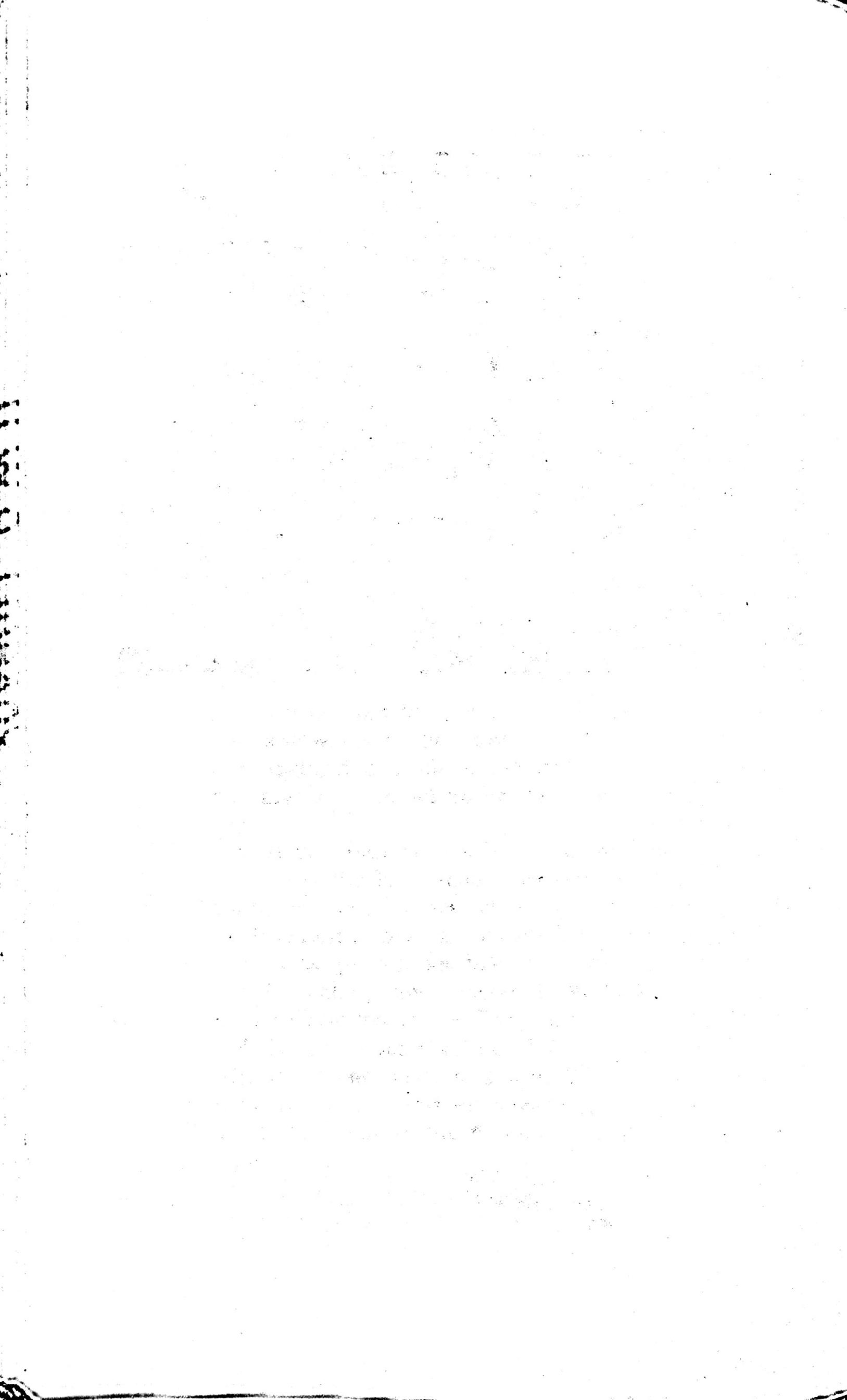
8. If any brother go out into the world, and take with him money belonging to the Hospital, and dissipate it in evil living, and then come for pardon, let it be at the discretion of the Prior and brethren if he should

¹ See the Rule of Raymond du Puy, Para. 10, p. 24.

² This refers to the fact that part of his punishment was to eat his meals seated upon his mantle on the ground. See p. 24, footnote.



THE CITY OF ACRE
From Baudoin's 'Histoire de Malthe'



be received or not, because if he receive him he shall restore to him his habit, and the brother shall undergo the Quarantaine.

9. If any brother dissipate with Counts and Barons the property of the House, or shall pledge it, or shall place as security the things of the House with any secular person, he shall lose his habit, and let him be cast out of the House. If he be a brother novice, let him be conjured by the Prior by his habit, and by the promise which he has made. If he hearken to this prohibition of the Prior and brethren, if he say that never again would he listen to such a suggestion, let him undergo the Septaine.

10. If any priest or deacon or anyone in orders shall offend in anything, and the complaint come before the Prior, the brethren that the Prior shall summon to the Esgart, shall sentence to the Septaine according to the degree of the fault, just as in the case of other brethren, who are not in orders. Because since all are in the same Religion, and all both clerics and laymen make the same promise, it would not be a proper thing that there should be any distinction. So it is a thing ordained that just as we all live according to the same Rule, we should all be obedient to the commandments laid down in that Rule.¹

11. If any brother dispute in the dormitory after Compline, the first time let him be chastised, the second time let him undergo the Septaine, and if he dispute a third time, that one shall support the King and all the rest,² let him be sentenced to the Quarantaine because such contentions and such words may engender a fierce hatred. Wherefore the brethren should eschew it, as detrimental to the House, because as Solomon saith,³ 'Evil communications corrupt good manners'.

12. If a brother strike any serjeant, and complaint

¹ That is the Rule of Raymond du Puy.

² In other words he must not indulge in political arguments.

³ It is a remark made by St. Paul in 1 Corinthians xv. 33.

should be made to the Commander, let him undergo the Septaine ; and if he draw blood, except from the nose, let him undergo the Quarantaine, and if he (the serjeant) die of the wound, he loses his habit. Afterwards if he return with letters from the Pope, and shall beg for pardon, he shall recover his habit and shall undergo the Quarantaine, saving the sentence (justice) of the House, as is laid down in the Rule.¹

13. If a serjeant dispute with the brethren, and the brother lodge a complaint with the Commander, the serjeant shall pay the penalty (*rendra la justise*). And if the serjeant call the brother a thief or a lecher, let him be severely beaten through the hall (*palais*) up to the gate, and let him be cast out of the House, and let that which he has earned be paid to him.

14. If a serjeant depart from the House without leave, and he be kept out of charity, and afterwards he return to make amends, let him first pay the penalty, and afterwards begin his year, and when he shall have finished it, let him be paid.

15. If a serjeant steal anything from the House, and it be proved, or steal an entire loaf of bread, let that which he shall have stolen, be hung round his neck,² and let him be severely beaten through the hall (*palais*) up to the gate, and at the gate let a loaf of bread be given to him, and let him have his discharge, and let that which he shall have earned be given to him, but let it be at the discretion of the Commander and brethren.

16. If a serjeant shall be sent to any Obedience to work or for any service, and shall depart of his own accord without leave of the Commander and brethren, let the Commander or the seneschal order him to return to the house from which he comes. And when he

¹ See the Rule of Raymond du Puy, Para. 10, p. 23.

² The penalty given by Daniel de St. Estène is different, he says 'and let him be stripped quite naked, and let him be put in the stocks (*astache*) for three Sundays'.

shall come to that house, the Commander shall exact the penalty, and shall send him to work ; and if he would not return to the house from which he comes, and he say that the brethren have beaten him, or for any other reasonable cause, let him pay the penalty for as long as he shall refuse to return to the house.¹

17. A serjeant cannot prove the guilt of a brother for more than a Septaine ; and if he would prove his guilt for a Quarantaine, or of any felony or other thing for which the brother could lose his habit, let him not be believed.²

18. If the serjeants dispute among themselves, and complaint of it come to the Commander, whosoever shall have offended, let him pay the penalty. And if they fight among themselves, and there should be visible the mark of sword or stone or stick, and one be proved guilty by witnesses, let him be severely beaten through the hall (palais) up to the gate, and let him be cast out of the House, and let that which he shall have earned be paid to him ; and if the mark be visible and there be no witness, the mark is evidence.³

18 bis.⁴ And if a serjeant shall break his fealty

¹ Daniel de St. Estène here adds the following words, 'up to the fourth time. Afterwards if he will not work, let him be put in irons until such time as he shall have given a pledge to finish his year's service, and otherwise let him not be placed in irons'.

² Daniel de St. Estène gives an alternate version : 'A serjeant cannot bear witness against a brother, unless himself a brother, because no secular person can bear witness against a brother ; but a brother can properly bear witness against a serjeant of anything for which he can be discharged (frusté) ; but a serjeant cannot be discharged on secular evidence, unless there be two witnesses.'

³ Daniel de St. Estène gives an alternate version : 'And if they fight among themselves, and one strikes another a blow that is visible, let him be stripped and let him be beaten through the hall up to the gate, and let him be cast out of the House altogether. And if a serjeant attack another with edged weapons, let him be stripped quite naked and beaten through the hall up to the gate, and let him be driven out of the House altogether.'

⁴ This additional paragraph is given in the version of Daniel de St. Estène.

and shall remain away for three days without returning, let him lose that which he has earned, and it is at the discretion of the bailiff to discharge him.

19. If a serjeant lie in the town, without leave of him under whom he serves, the first time let him be chastised, if a second time he be proved guilty let him pay the penalty, and the third time let him be severely beaten, and also on every subsequent occasion. But if he will not reform, let him be cast out of the House, and let there be paid to him as much as he shall have earned.

20. If the Master by letters to any brother issue orders on any subject, and the brother be a layman, and he show the letters to any person able to read, whatever he shall tell him and he shall understand, that brother shall do ; and if the brother fail to do that which the Master shall command, and shall do otherwise, and shall say that he was given to understand so, and he shall be put upon his oath, let him not undergo penance ; but if he say that he was given to understand exactly as the Master says, then he is disobedient, and should undergo the Quarantine, and all that it involves ; and if he be able to read and shall understand properly the letters, and fail to carry out the order, let him undergo the Quarantine.

21. No secular person can prove the guilt of a brother of the Hospital for more than a Septaine ; one brother cannot prove the guilt of another for more than a Septaine. Two brethren can prove the guilt of another brother of anything for which he may lose his habit. One brother, with two laymen or two priests, who are law abiding men of good life and owing fealty to the House, or two clerics who are liegemen of the House, can together prove the guilt of another brother of anything for which he could lose his habit.

22. And if any Bailiff issue an order to any other brother, and say to him : ‘ Go to such and such a place and receive such and such a bailiwick, or do such and such a task or such and such business ’, and he

refuse and the Bailiff lodge a complaint about it, let him undergo the Septaine. And if another time he tell him simply in the same words, and he will not do it, let him undergo another Septaine ; and if he order him the third time, and he will not obey him, let him undergo the Quarantaine ; and if he order him the fourth time, and in virtue of his obedience, and he do not obey, let him lose his habit.

23. If any brother go anywhere without leave of his Bailiff let him undergo the Septaine. And if he go through city or town or castle on the occasion of leaving the House, and he return the same day, let him undergo the Quarantaine, but if he sleep outside the House, let him lose his habit.

24. If any brother be not in the Church at all the Hours of the day, and his bailiff lodge a complaint against him, let him undergo as many Septaines as the Hours he shall have missed.

25. And if any brother do not maintain silence in the appointed place, namely in the Church and at table,¹ and his bailiff lodge a complaint against him, let him undergo the Septaine.²

26. And whosoever drinks wine after Compline, let him undergo the Septaine.

27. And if at the table of the Convent anyone eat or drink anything different from the others either at the first or the second Convent, unless it should be the meat of the serjeants, let him undergo the Quarantaine. And if any brother eat in his chamber without leave, let him undergo the Quarantaine.

¹ In his later version, William de St. Estène rightly adds the words : ‘and after Compline, namely in the dormitory’.

² Daniel de St. Estène gives an alternate version : ‘And if he simply talk at table, let him undergo the Septaine. But if he talk outrageously and speak insultingly (*vilainie*) to the serjeants or to the brethren, or shall strike a serjeant, let him undergo the Quarantaine, and all that it involves. And if he talk in the dormitory after Compline in a manner that causes annoyance to the other brethren, let him undergo the Septaine.’

28. If any brother wear any robe other than that which is laid down in Chapter-General, let him undergo the Quarantaine.

29. And if any brother have private property of his own and keep it from his bailiff, after he has demanded it several times, let him lose his habit. And if he do not keep it from him, but shall have to be asked for it several times, let him undergo the Quarantaine.¹

30. And if any brother fall into fornication, and complaint be made of it, and it be proved by witnesses, let him lose his habit. Likewise for larceny, let him lose his habit, and for homicide.

31. If any brother have words with his bailiff, and enter into argument with him, and say to him in any way : ‘ You lie,’ let him undergo the Septaine.

32. And if a bailiff lodge a complaint in Chapter against any brother, and cannot prove it, or say or do to him anything unreasonable, then the brother should appeal to the brethren who are in Chapter, and should say before them : ‘ You are my bailiff ; I request you, if you please, to put one of these brethren in your place to hear my complaint.’ And if the bailiff be willing to do it, let it be done : if not, when they shall come together before the Grand Bailiff,² then the aforesaid brother can lodge a complaint against his bailiff, if he wish. But he must have reason for it, as has been said before.³

33. FOR WHAT REASON A BROTHER LOSES HIS HABIT WITHOUT HOPE OF RECOVERY. THESE ARE THE THINGS FOR WHICH, IF A BROTHER DO ANY OF THEM, HE LOSES

¹ Daniel de St. Estène here adds the following words : ‘ and all it involves, because no brother should possess more than his bailiff orders ’.

² Grand Bailiff is another term for Capitular Bailiff, it is used also in Paras. 62, 67, 70 and 71, pp. 167, 168.

³ The other two St. Estène MSS. add the words : ‘ and let him have the penance that the other would have had, if he had succeeded against him ’: the usual penance for an unsuccessful accusation under the Rule of Raymond du Puy, Para. 18, p. 27.

HIS HABIT WITHOUT MERCY.—Firstly, if he be proved guilty of heresy, let him lose his habit, and let him not be again received.¹

34. Likewise, if it be proved that he has borne false witness against another brother, or against a secular person, let him lose his habit, and let him never more be received. And likewise if he go to the Saracens, and if he be proved guilty of sodomy, let him lose his habit, and let him never be received again. And if he desert the banner (*baniere*) of the Marshal, or in any place desert the brethren in battle against the Saracens, let him lose his habit without mercy, and let him not be again received.

35. If a brother wear chausses (*heuses*) in any place where it is not permitted to wear them without leave, let him undergo the Septaine.²

36. And if he ride without leave beyond the places permitted, where the brethren have liberty to go, and he go without chausses (*heuses*), let him undergo the Septaine.³

37. A brother can be in a white coif in the Church up to the sixth hour. And if he go through the castle in a coif by accident after that hour, and his bailiff lodge a complaint, let him undergo the Septaine. Because it is forbidden in Chapter-General that any brother should wear a white coif only ; and if he wear it, let him undergo the Septaine.⁴

¹ Compare this, and the following paragraph, with Statutes 9 and 10 of 1283, p. 83.

² Compare this with Statute 7 of 1262, p. 55. For this paragraph Daniel de St. Estène substitutes the following : ‘If a brother wear boots between Easter and Michaelmas, and his bailiff lodge a complaint, let him undergo the Septaine.’

³ The chausses in this and the preceding paragraph are leg-guards of chain-mail. For this paragraph Daniel de St. Estène substitutes the following : ‘if a brother go through house or castle after forbidden hours, and his bailiff lodge a complaint, let him undergo the Septaine because it is forbidden’.

⁴ Daniel de St. Estène gives an alternate version : ‘the brother can wear a coif singly on his head ; because they were all accus-

38. And if the horses of the brethren be not clipped in accordance with the custom of the Religion, let him undergo the Septaine.

39. And if any brother, who receives a robe from the House, have it cut or altered outside the Parmentarie, and the bailiff lodge a complaint, let him undergo the Septaine.

40. A brother can lend his mule without leave in the places where it is permitted to go, or his horse or other equipment, to whomsoever he please ; and if he, to whom the loan is made, go beyond the places permitted, let that same brother, who made the loan, undergo the Septaine. And if he be away from the House for a night let him undergo the Quarantaine.

41. And if a brother ride his horse at full gallop (*cours entier*) let him undergo the Septaine, because he can only ride his horse at a canter (*demi cours*) without the leave of his bailiff.

42. And if any brethren speak insulting words (*vilaines paroles*) to each other, and their bailiff lodge a complaint against them, let each of them undergo the Septaine.¹ And if they speak them before a secular person, and especially complain of this, let them undergo another Septaine. And whatever matters and words the brethren shall have among themselves in anger one against the other, and the occasion come to the hearing of their bailiff, and the complaint come before the Chapter, and the matter be one for the Septaine or the Quarantaine, or one for which they should lose their habit, let the penalty through the complaint of their bailiff be the same as if the one lodged a complaint against the other concerning misdeeds done by one against the other.

tomed to wear them double, because it was decreed by Chapter-General that they should not wear them singly, but now they are excused'.

¹ Daniel de St. Estène here adds the following words : 'and if they speak the words covertly, let them undergo the Quarantaine'.

43. If anyone send a brother on a mission to another brother, with an order from his bailiff, and he say to him these words 'I do not believe your words, which you have spoken to me, because he did not order you to come here to me', if he do it not, let him undergo the Septaine. And if that same brother went to the other brother without authority, let him undergo the Septaine.

44. And if anyone give away anything without leave of his bailiff, let him undergo the Septaine, and if he sell or buy anything, let him undergo the Quarantaine. And a brother who receives money (deniers) for exchange, and his bailiff lodges a complaint against him, should undergo the Quarantaine. And whosoever exchanges it, let him lose his habit, because dealing in money causes corruption.

45. When the brother makes his promise to God and to the Hospital, he should be asked if he have a wife, and if he have personal debts or pledges of any kind, and if he have ever made a promise in another Religion ; and if he say 'No' to the one and to the other, and he is afterwards proved guilty, let him lose his habit.

45 bis.¹ HOW THE BRETHREN SHOULD BE CHASTISED.—And if any brother see or know that any brother is an evil liver, he should chastise him well on the back when they are alone, if he will not amend his ways for him. The second time he should chastise him in the presence of two or three brethren, and if he amend not his ways, he should report him to his bailiff, and in this way they are bound to chastise one another.²

45 ter. CONCERNING THOSE ACCUSING A BROTHER BEFORE CHASTISING HIM.—And if any brother accuse another brother before chastising him, as laid down above, whether his sin merit the Septaine or the Quarantine or loss of habit, and the bailiff lodge a complaint

¹ This and the two following paragraphs are given in William de St. Estène's later version of the *Judgements and Customs*.

² In accordance with the Rule of Raymond du Puy, Para. 17, p. 27.

against him of accusing another before chastising him, let him have the same penance as he who has committed the sin.

45 quater. CONCERNING THOSE ACCUSING A BROTHER PUBLICLY.—Also if a brother accuse another brother in the presence of other brethren of any sin whatsoever, a similar penance will suffice, whether he prove him guilty or not, for this reason, because he has slandered him before other brethren or other secular persons.

46. Also it is forbidden that a brother rail (ive) against another ; and if he rail maliciously against the other, and complaint be made let him undergo the Septaine.¹

47. Also for all acts of derision (rampones) of one towards the other, let him undergo the Septaine.

48. Also if one brother say to another : ‘ You lie,’ let him undergo the Septaine.

49. And if any brother call another a thief, or a leper, or a stinker (punaise), or a trickster, or a fornicator, and say : ‘ I will prove you guilty ’ of one thing or another above mentioned, if he can prove him guilty, let the other lose his habit ; and if he cannot prove him guilty, he who has said to him : ‘ I will prove you guilty of this,’ let him lose his habit himself. If any brother say anything of the words aforesaid in sinfulness, and say not : ‘ I will prove you guilty,’ and complaint be lodged, and he himself repent of it and say : ‘ I lied, and I did not say it because I knew anything about him, but I said it in anger and sinfulness,’ let him undergo the Quarantaine.²

¹ Daniel de St. Estène substitutes an alternate version : ‘ If a brother shall speak insultingly to another brother before several other brethren or before secular persons, and if the brother, concerning whom he shall have spoken insultingly, complain of him, let him undergo the same penance as if he had done the thing of which he had slandered him.’

² Daniel de St. Estène gives an alternate version : ‘ If a brother shall call another brother in anger a thief or traitor or leper or bastard or fornicator or other words similar to these, if that brother

50. And if any brother strike another, let him undergo the Quarantine, and¹ if he draw blood, except from the nose and mouth, let him lose his habit. And if he threaten to strike him with stick or sword or mace or any edged weapon or stone, let him undergo the Quarantine.

51. And if any brother lodge a complaint against another brother of anything aforesaid, and say : 'I will call a witness,' or afterwards bear witness, he against whom the complaint is lodged should not be sworn, but the witnesses should first be sworn. And then the brethren should relate all the things seen, because it is decreed in the Hospital that the procedure should be thus regarding all things said and done concerning which witnesses are called. Then afterwards the brother, against whom the complaint has been lodged, should not be sworn, but if witnesses are not called, the brother against whom the complaint is lodged, should be sworn.

52. Also if two or more brethren shall leave² a castle in the marches of Paganism, after Compline is said and the gate is shut, and they be discovered together, let them lose their habits.

53. And if any brother has lent any possession to

who shall have suffered the insult (vilainie) complain against him, and he who shall have said it shall say before the Esgart : "That which I have said was in anger and malice, and I know well that I have lied, because I regard him as good and loyal, and know him to be such," let him undergo the Quarantine ; and if he say not the words above mentioned, let him lose his habit. And if a brother speak insultingly and outrageously to another brother, and shall call him anything which he cannot prove, let him have the same penance as the other would have had, if he had been proved guilty.'

¹ Daniel de St. Estène here substitutes the following : 'and if he strike a blow that is visible, let him lose his habit. If a brother attack another with arms, whatever the weapon may be, let him undergo the Quarantine.'

² From a comparison with Statute 12 of 1283, p. 83, it is evidently 'leave' and not 'enter', as in the *Cartulaire-Général*. In other words the brethren must not make unauthorized sorties against the enemy.

a secular person, and his bailiff ask him about it, and he do not admit it, and afterwards it be proved against him, let him lose his habit. And if he be asked about this matter, and do not conceal it, let him undergo the Quarantine, because he should not lend anything to a secular person, because it is forbidden by Chapter.

54. Also it is decreed in the House of the Hospital that if any brother say : 'I shall go to the land of the Saracens,' likewise let him lose his habit.

55. Also it is forbidden in the Hospital for any brother to strike a Christian, and if he strike him, let him undergo the Septaine, and if he draw blood except from the nose or the mouth, let him undergo the Quarantine. If he strike him with sword or lance or stick or mace or stone or any edged weapon, let him undergo the Quarantine, and if he kill him, let him lose his habit. And for all the words and misdeeds, for which if done against another brother, he would undergo the Septaine, if done against a secular person, he should have no sentence ; and in like manner, for what done against another brother, he would undergo the Quarantine, if done against a secular person, he should undergo the Septaine ; and for a misdeed, for which if done against another brother, he would lose his habit, if done against a secular person, he should undergo the Quarantine.¹

56. And for all matters where a brother has been against another brother, let it be the Quarantine or more. If a serjeant speak or act against a brother, let

¹ In his later version, William de St. Estène omits the last sentence, and substitutes : 'And if he wound him, let him undergo the Quarantine, and if the wound be so serious that it is feared that he would die, and complaint should be lodged with the bailiff either by him or by his friends before his death, let him undergo the Quarantine. And if it should happen that afterwards the man die, the brother who wounded him should undergo nothing further for it, because he cannot be judged for a sin for which he has already done penance, but if the complaint be lodged after death, and not before, let him lose his habit.'

him be cast out of the House, and if he abandon his fealty and afterwards return, let him pay the penalty. And if he lose the equipment (harneis) of the House through carelessness, if he be serving for pay, let him replace the equipment. And if anyone who is serving for pay, come not to his service, for as many days as he has been absent from the House let him be put in prison, and then let him be restored to the House. And for all things for which the brethren would lose the habit, if the serjeants do them, let them be discharged.

57. If a brother sleep in the town one night or more, or if he sleep with a woman, let him lose his habit, but let the serjeant for the same fault pay the penalty. If any brother order his serjeant to do anything, which he is not bound to do, if he do it not and complaint be lodged about it, and witnesses be called about it, they should not be heard against the serjeant concerning that for which the complaint is lodged, and he should not be sworn, because he says: 'He did not order me to do it,' and the brother calls upon the witnesses who were there when he ordered his serjeant to do that service and he did it not. Let the brethren who come to the Esgart know that the serjeant is not bound to do that service. The witnesses are neither heard nor sworn, but should be entirely released.

58. CONCERNING BRETHREN WHO DO NOT RISE FOR MATINS.¹—If any of the brethren do not rise for Matins, the bailiff can go to the dormitory and order water for them, and they should drink it for dinner at table, unless there be any reason to the contrary. And if any brother, to whom he shall come, eat at the table of the Infirmary,² then he should ask leave to drink wine of the Master or any bailiff, if it so be that water would

¹ Almost the whole of this paragraph is taken from the later version of William de St. Estène, as at this point there is a gap in the MS. of the earlier version.

² A brother who had been ill in bed for three days was allowed to take his meals for a time in the Infirmary, see Statute 45 of 1262, p. 65.

do him harm, and that he cannot drink it, but the bailiff should put him upon his conscience. If the bailiff make a search the second night, and the brethren do not rise for Matins, let them lose their cooked food (*cusinat*). And if the bailiff make a search the third night, and find them again, let them undergo the *Sep-taine*. And the fourth night let them undergo the *Quarantaine*. And if anyone do not rise the fifth night, let him lose his habit. And so it should be maintained, if the fault occur one night after the other, but not otherwise.

59. If any brother ride his horse or other beast after any wild animal, and his bailiff complain of it, let him undergo the *Quarantaine*.¹

60. And if any brother speak insulting words concerning any brother or bailiff before three or four or more other brethren, and one or more of them accuse that brother to the bailiff concerning whom he has spoken ill, and complaint of it be lodged, let the penance be proportionate to the complaint. And if the brother, concerning whom the complaint is lodged, lodge a complaint concerning him who has accused him, and say : 'I complain of this brother who has accused me, and did not first chastise me,' let not that brother be heard on this, because he said it quite openly before brethren or before secular persons.

61. If any brother lodge a complaint against another brother and say : 'He struck me with a mace and drew blood,' and call witnesses ; he concerning whom the complaint is made, should be sworn as to whether he struck the other with a mace, and if he say 'Yes', let him lose his habit. And if he say that he did not strike him neither with stick (*fust*) nor steel, and he who has lodged the complaint cannot prove it, he should lose his habit,² and if he say that he struck him

¹ See Statute 41 of 1262, p. 64.

² In his later version William de St. Estène says 'he should undergo the *Quarantaine*'.

with a stick, and can prove it, let him undergo the Quarantaine.¹

62. And if any bailiff do not give that which is necessary to the clerics for the service of the Altar, and the Grand Bailiff complain of that fault, let the lesser bailiff undergo the Septaine.²

63. And concerning all the things which the brethren should have, which are written in the Statutes of Margat, let whoever is to blame for anything that is lacking undergo the Septaine.

64. And if anyone have his feet or his head washed or his bed made by a woman, and his bailiff complain of it, let him undergo the Quarantaine.³

65. If a brother priest do not carry religiously the Body of Our Lord to the Infirmary, just as it is written, and a bailiff or prior⁴ lodge a complaint of it, let him undergo the Quarantaine.

66. And if any brother go to seek alms for the poor, and cannot have his necessaries in the house where he is lodged, and he buy two meals of meat besides bread and wine,⁵ let him undergo the Quarantaine. And if any brother should receive the escheats, and buy land or house with such gains or alms, without leave of the bailiff and chapter, let him surrender the alms to whomsoever the bailiwick belongs, and let him be sworn to surrender all the things that have escheated perfectly and completely, and let him undergo the Quarantaine.

¹ Daniel de St. Estène substitutes an alternate version : ‘If any brother complain of another brother that he has struck him or that he has attacked him with an edged weapon, and cannot prove it, let him undergo the Quarantaine.’

² Daniel de St. Estène substitutes an alternate version : ‘If any commander of a house do not provide for the Church the things decreed, or any other brother whose duty it is, especially lights in the Church day and night, and the prior complain of it to the commander, let him undergo the Quarantaine.’

³ See the Rule of Raymond du Puy, Para. 4, p. 21.

⁴ Here it means a clerical prior, not a Capitular Prior.

⁵ See the Rule of Raymond du Puy, Para. 5, p. 21.

And if any brother should not receive those who come to receive the food left over (cuillettes), or if he give them not such meat as the brethren have themselves, or if any brother come to him and he receive him not in his lodging (ostel), and complaint be lodged about it, let him undergo the Quarantaine.

67. And if any bailiff do not have the Trental said for the soul of the brother who is dead ¹ or do not give his raiment to the poor, and the Grand Bailiff complain of him, let him undergo the Quarantaine.

68. If any bailiff summon any brother, or send a summons to him to come before him, and he come without his habit, and the bailiff complain of it, let him undergo the Septaine.

69. And if there be no light in the Church, and it be through the fault of the bailiff or of the cleric, let him undergo the Septaine. And if the prior ² have not all the things that appertain to the church, just as is decreed in the Statutes of Margat, whoever shall be to blame, let him undergo the Septaine, and let the bailiff provide them for the prior.

70. And if the brethren do not have their pittance at double festivals,³ if the house can provide it or have it, and the brethren complain of the bailiff before the Grand Bailiff,⁴ and there be no good reason for it, let him undergo the Quarantaine.⁵

71. And if any brother be ill in his bed or in his chamber for three days, and have not the things which are necessary for him, just as was decreed at Margat, whoever shall be to blame, if a complaint about it

¹ See the Rule of Raymond du Puy, Para. 14, and the Statutes of Fr. Jobert, pp. 25, 31.

² Obviously an ecclesiastic, and not a Capitular Prior.

³ For double festivals see Statute 4 of 1263, footnote, p. 67.

⁴ The text here reads Grand Master, but since the Master is never so called in the Statutes or Judgements, it seems obviously an error for Grand Bailiff, which the context requires.

⁵ Daniel de St. Estène gives the penance as the Septaine and not the Quarantaine.

be lodged before the Grand Bailiff, let him undergo the Septaine. And afterwards if the Bailiff have commanded to give to him what is necessary, and again it be not done, let him undergo the Quarantaine. The same also applies in the case of the brother who lies in the Infirmary, just as is said above. If a brother lie in his bed for three days, and afterwards go not to the Infirmary, the Infirmarian is not bound to supply him with anything.

72. If any brother, who has his duty in the Infirmary, do not give to the sick the things that are necessary for them, or if he do not give them to eat before the brethren go to eat, and all things as provided by the House, let him undergo the Septaine.

73. And if any Bailiff from beyond the sea bring with him several brethren without the Master's orders, and the Master complain of it, let him undergo the Quarantaine.

73 bis.¹ CONCERNING THE BROTHER WHO LIES NAKED.—If any brother lie naked in the Dormitory, let him undergo the Septaine, if a complaint be lodged about it.

74. And if any brother be at the point of death and deliver his seal to any brother, and after his death the brother do not surrender his seal in chapter, or in any manner continue to hold the seal, let him undergo the Quarantaine.

75. And if any brother relate the things which are said in chapter in any manner to a secular person,² and the things could become known, let him undergo the Quarantaine.³

76. And if the meat of the brethren be not so good as the Convent could provide, and sufficient for health

¹ This additional paragraph is given in the later version of William de St. Estène : see also the Rule of Raymond du Puy, Para. 8, p. 23.

² Daniel de St. Estène adds, 'or to one of another Religion'.

³ Daniel de St. Estène here adds the words : 'and let him be cast out of the council, and it shall be at the discretion of the Master and the prud'hommes to send him where it shall seem good to them.'

and strength, if it be not improved in accordance with the capacity of the House, whoever is to blame, shall undergo the Quarantaine.¹

77. And if the brethren at the table of the Infirmary do not have that which shall be necessary for them, let the penance be the same as before mentioned in the case of the brother who lies in the Infirmary or who lies sick in his chamber for three days.

78. And if any brother have himself bled without leave, unless it be because of illness, or because the bailiff is not in the House, or anyone holding his place, let him undergo the Septaine.

79. And in whatsoever place the Marshal may be, he should have under his orders all things that appertain to arms ; and if the bailiff of any house give them not up to him, and the Marshal complain of it to the Master, let him undergo the Quarantaine.

80. If any bailiff sell or alienate anything or give possession of it without leave of the Master² and of the Chapter-General let him lose his habit.

81. And if any brother go into city or castle where there is a house of the Hospital, and he know of it, and he will not lodge there but only with a secular person, if there be no special reason for it, let him undergo the Quarantaine.

82. And if any brother reveal the things that are said in Chapter, let him undergo the Quarantaine.³

83. And if any brother eat flesh or drink milk from Septuagesima throughout Lent, or eat flesh on Monday, or on Wednesday or Saturday eat flesh or fat (saym), or eggs and cheese on Friday, for each of these things let him undergo the Quarantaine.

84. And if any brother have been under sentence,

¹ Probably this should read Septaine, since it is so given in the other two versions.

² The word 'Bailiff' in the text is obviously an error for 'Master'.

³ See Statute 24 of 1270, p. 78, and also Para. 75 on the previous page.

and do not observe the sentence just as it is decreed, namely, if he eat flesh on the fourth or the sixth day, and not bread and water only ; if he be undergoing the Septaine, let him undergo another Septaine ; and if he be undergoing the Quarantaine, let him undergo another Quarantaine.

85. And if any brother throw bread or wine or anything on the table at a serjeant, or strike him, or rise from the table before the other brethren without leave, for each thing let him undergo the Septaine.

86. And if anyone utter insulting words against another in church, before the service is finished, or at table also, for each of these things, if the bailiff complain of it let him undergo the Septaine.

86 bis.¹ CONCERNING A BROTHER WHO IS DRUNK.—And if any brother be obviously drunk, and the bailiff complain of it, for the first time, let him undergo the Septaine. And if he order him that he should be on his guard, and afterwards he be drunk, let him undergo the Quarantaine. And if for the third time he do not amend his ways in this respect, let him lose his habit.

86 ter. CONCERNING COMPLAINTS.—And if any bailiff see or know that any brother is guilty of any misconduct, and he do not wish to lodge a complaint against him immediately, let him speak in this manner at the first Chapter : ‘This is a brother who has done the thing that he ought not to do ; permit me to reserve this complaint until the Chapter-General, and permit not that it be judged at this Chapter nor at another before I lodge a complaint concerning him at the aforesaid Chapter.’ And if at the first Chapter-General he do not lodge his complaint, let him not afterwards be heard about it.

87. If any brother have said or done anything that he ought not, and he to whom the wrong was done do not complain of him at the first Chapter, and then

¹ This paragraph and the following were added by William de St. Estène in his later version.

at the second or the third, lodge a complaint against him, let him not be heard about it.¹ And if he who did the wrong to him say : ‘ I lodge a complaint against him that he nourishes hatred against me, because he knew well that I had treated him ill, and at the first Chapter lodged no complaint against me, for which reason it is known to me that he harbours hatred against me ’ : the brother who nourishes hatred for what was said or done should undergo the Septaine. He who did or said the wrong should undergo another Septaine. And if it should merit the Quarantaine, so it should be. And moreover if three brethren be together, and two of them have words together, and strike one another, and lodge a complaint before the bailiff or in Chapter, the one brother cannot prove the other guilty of anything more than the Septaine or the Quarantaine. He who seriously wishes to lodge his complaint in Chapter should speak in this manner : ‘ I complain to God and to you of this brother, who when we were together with him and a certain other brother with us, began to say and to do the things that he ought not ’ : and if he wish he can relate the things, which were done or said. ‘ And concerning the matter I summon the third brother, who was with us when he did to me or said the aforesaid things.’ Firstly he should be sworn as to what he has seen and said. Likewise he can call upon him who did him the wrong, and should say to the Chapter : ‘ Since the third brother has been heard, you ought to have this one sworn, because I call upon him himself as a witness of the thing which he did and said to me.’ And after the witnesses shall have been heard according to the nature

¹ For these opening lines Daniel de St. Estène substitutes the following : ‘ If any brother wish to lodge a complaint against any other brother, and he is not quite certain concerning the matter about which he wishes to lodge the complaint, he can reserve his complaint up to the third Chapter, making mention of the fact at each Chapter ; and if he make it after the third Chapter have passed, let him not be given hearing or attention.’

of the complaint, he who has done the wrong should have the penance. And if he be not proved guilty, he who lodges the complaint, suffers the same penance, if he cannot prove it, as he would have done concerning whom the complaint is lodged. And concerning all the things that are said and done before the Chapter, if no complaint be lodged at the second or third Chapter, the one brother should not be heard against the other in any other Chapter, and the brother concerning whom the complaint is lodged is not bound to reply to it, because after the things between them were said and done they were in Chapter, and he said nothing about it. The same thing should apply in the case of the bailiff; after the first Chapter he cannot lodge a complaint against any brother, if he do so, it has no value.

III

THE CUSTOMS (USANCES)

HERE BEGINS THE ACCOUNT OF THE OBEDIENCE THAT THE BRETHREN SHOULD MAINTAIN AND KEEP, AND THE CUSTOMS, AND THE PRIVILEGES OF THE MASTER, AND THE OTHER THINGS THAT ARE WRITTEN IN THIS BOOK : ALTHOUGH THESE CUSTOMS ARE NOT ORDAINED BY CHAPTER, NEVERTHELESS THE PRUD'HOMMES OF THE HOUSE HAVE THOUGHT WELL TO WRITE THEM DOWN AS BEING THE USAGE AND CUSTOM IN OUR HOUSE.

88. The Rule states that all should obey whatsoever thing is commanded them by the Master.¹ To that rule there is no exception, but it is understood that it has its limits, and these limits are the Rule the Statutes and the Good Customs of the House and of the Religion, and all the Ordinances made by the Chapters-General. And this the Statute establishes which states : 'All the brethren of the hospital are bound to obey the Master for Jesus Christ's sake.' ² Certainly then when the Master issues orders in excess of what he has promised, it is evil and sinful, and for Christ's sake one should not do evil nor sin, but only good. And thus it is clear that the commandment of the Rule is to this extent limited. And thus it is decreed in the Holy House of the Hospital that when the superior (souveiran) gives any order to any brother, and it does not seem to the

¹ See the Rule of Raymond du Puy, Para. 1, p. 20.

² See the Statutes of Margat, Para. 1, p. 42.



SEAL OF THE GRAND COMMANDER OF THE HOSPITAL
In the Archives Nationales, Paris



SEAL OF THE GRAND COMMANDER OF SPAIN
In the Archives of Alcalá de Henares

brother that the order is in accordance with the good usages and customs of the House, the brother should demand Esgart des Frères. Because our obedience is not understood to exceed, nor should we be compelled to exceed the degree of obedience that our Rule and our Statutes and our Good Customs lay down, which things our superior has promised to maintain and to see maintained. And if he issue any order contrary to the Rule and contrary to the Statutes and the Good Customs, he stands perjured, and the brother should not obey him, but the brother should demand Esgart des Frères.

89. THESE ARE THE PRIVILEGES THAT APPERTAIN TO THE MASTER OR TO WHOSOEVER HOLDS HIS PLACE AND TO NO OTHER :—

Firstly, to have robes and equipment (arnois) of his own.

Item, to go on pilgrimage.

Item, to eat in town or in city.

Item, to remain in his cell (place) beyond the three days of a brother.¹

Item, to eat in his cell and outside the Hall (palais).

Item, to fast and to do abstinence.

Item, to go beyond the sea.

Item, to summon a brother from beyond the sea.

Item, to create a brother.

Item, to eat flesh during the Lent of St. Martin.

Item, to order water for the bailiffs.

Item, to grant exemption to the bailiffs in all things.

Item, when water has been ordered for the brethren, after the bell has sounded, and the brethren are in the Hall (palis), no one can remit it except the Master.

Item, when brethren are under sentence of any bailiff, after the bell has sounded, and the brethren are in the Hall, no one can remit it except the Master.

¹ A sick brother could only remain in his cell for three days, and then had to go to the Infirmary. See the Statutes of Margat, Para. I, p. 42.

Item, when a brother is under sentence, no one can grant him a pittance, except the Master, if he be present in the Hall. And if the Master be not there, the Grand Commander or the Marshal, or one of the other Capitular Bailiffs. And if a Capitular Bailiff be not there, the Prior of the Church can grant it.

Item, no brother can create a Brother Serjeant-at-Arms, except the Master.

Item, a brother desirous of giving up his arms through old age and weakness, should give them up to the Master, and with his leave.

Item, the Master should order water for the bailiffs and no one else.

Item, when the Master issues a general order for water, no one can remit it, except the Master.

Item, when the Master holds any brother to complain of any other brother for anything that he shall have done, whosoever shall lodge the complaint for the Master, if he obtain sentence, cannot remit it without the leave of the Master.

Item, no one can order a brother to be served with water at table, if he do not maintain silence, except the Master.

Item, no brother can be absent from communion, without leave of the Master.

Item, in the House of the Hospital it is customary that when the Master or any superior desires to take counsel, firstly he should summon the bailiffs, and from each Tongue he should summon the senior brethren equally.

90. WHICH DEALS WITH THE BAILIFFS WHEN GOD SUMMONS THEM IN THE CONVENT.—When Our Lord summons to Himself any Capitular Bailiff this side the sea in the Convent, the Master with the advice of the prud'hommes, and just as the Statute states, should arrange for the bailiwick with the advice of the prud'hommes, and the Master should place some prud'homme

in that bailiwick in place of the deceased bailiff. And that prud'homme, who shall be placed there with their advice, should exercise the power of that bailiff, just as if he had been appointed by Chapter-General, and should have any escheats that accrue, and all things that appertain to the bailiwick up to the Chapter-General. And no one can take the bailiwick from him, unless he lose it through sentence to the Quarantaine. And if the Master send him on a mission, either beyond the sea or elsewhere, with the advice of the prud'hommes, he can leave another brother, whoever shall seem good to him, in his place¹ up to the Chapter-General. But always he should inform the Master as a mark of respect.

91. WHICH DEALS WITH THE BAILIFFS WHO LOSE THEIR BAILIWICKS THROUGH A SENTENCE.—When a Capitular Bailiff loses his bailiwick through sentence to the Quarantine, the Master with the advice of the prud'hommes can grant it to him or to another brother of that Tongue, if there be one qualified, as may seem good to him.²

92. WHICH DEALS WITH THE BAILIFFS.—All the Capitular Bailiffs can put any prud'homme in their place when they are indisposed ; and when they leave their bailiwicks to go on a mission or to any part, they can put any prud'homme in their place, as shall seem good to them, and they should inform the Master of it.

93. WHICH DEALS WITH THE BRETHREN WHEN THEY GO ON CARAVAN.—When the brethren leave the Convent and go on Caravan to any place, the Marshal can put any brother in his place, whoever shall seem good to him.

94. WHICH DEALS WITH THE BAILIFFS AND SENTENCES.—No Capitular Bailiff can be released from sentence

¹ Daniel de St. Estène here adds the following words : ‘ Of the Tongue of the said bailiff or of another, as shall seem best to the Master and the prud'hommes, and whosoever shall rest in the place of the said bailiff, if any things escheat to him, he should render an account to the said bailiff, when he shall have returned from the said mission.’

² See the Statutes of Margat, Para. 1, p. 43.

for failure to observe the Hours or for any other thing, if the Master complain of it ; but it is customary that the bailiffs, when they are appointed, should ask the Master for a general exemption, and the Master should grant it to them. Every bailiff in his bailiwick is in the place of the Master, and when the Master is present, all are at his orders.

95. WHICH DEALS WITH THE PITTA NC E OF BREAD AND WINE.—In the House of the Hospital it is customary that at double festivals the brethren in the Hall should have a pittance of bread and wine. And if the double festivals have a vigil, the Treasury should grant the pittance to the Convent of fish or of eggs or some other pittance.

96. WHICH DEALS WITH THE PROCESSIONS.—In the House of the Hospital it is customary to go in procession on Candlemas Day, on whatever day the festival shall come, and on the day of the Ascension of Our Lord, and on the day of St. John Baptist, and on the day of Our Lady in August, and on all the Sundays ; and on the other festivals we do not go in procession, unless the festival come on a Sunday.¹

97. WHICH DEALS WITH THE ROBE OF THE BROTHER.—If any brother have a robe of cloth (*roube en drap*), that has been issued to him, and it seem to the brother that the cloth is thin, and he should wish to have something thicker up to Easter, he should take that cloth and should have it sewn up in a sheet of the same, and should put upon it his name in writing, and should go to the Drapier, and should say to him : “Sir, here is a robe that is ours, I beg you to have it kept for me, because the cloth is too thin to wear in winter : I will take my livery robe (*robe de lievrsoin*). And when it shall be Easter, I will return to you the livery robe, and do you return to me my robe of cloth.” The Drapier should do it, and the brother should take his

¹ Compare with this Statutes 27 of 1262, No. 9 of 1270, No. 4 of 1301, and No. 13 of 1302, pp. 60, 75, 110, 124.

livery robe, and shall be free from sentence if a complaint should be lodged against those who having robes of pittance should take their livery robes.¹

98. WHICH DEALS WITH EGGS.—In the House of the Hospital it is customary that if the Convent have fried eggs, and any brother cannot eat them, he can of right eat eggs baked or poached in water.

99. WHICH STATES HOW PERMISSION IS DEMANDED TO RETAIN PRIVATE PROPERTY.—When a brother desires to demand leave to retain private property, he should go to his superior, and say to the Master : ‘ I have certain things of the alms of the House, which my friends and relatives have given or sent to me, that is to say in money (deniers) so much, and so much in jewels ; that is to say so many goblets, so many cups with feet, so many porringers, so many trenchers, so many dishes, so many spoons, so many rings,² and several other jewels. And also I have more robes and more equipment than the Statute orders that I should retain ; give me your orders about it.’ Such is the manner in which he should ask leave, and everyone should state by weight or estimate the quantity of things that he has for his private use.

100. WHICH STATES WHEN BRETHREN SHOULD COMMUNICATE.—In the House of the Hospital it is customary that the brethren should communicate three times a year in general, that is to say on Christmas day, on Easter Sunday and on Whitsunday.

101. WHICH SPEAKS OF WITNESSES.—In the House of the Hospital it is customary that in all cases where witnesses are brought, first the witnesses should be heard. Always those who shall be at the Esgart should take great care that the witnesses are heard and examined in accordance with the Statutes, because each of the witnesses is bound to say whatever shall be asked him

¹ See Statute 1 of 1262, p. 53.

² The French words used for these articles are : ‘ taces, anas à pie, escuelles, taillors, greaus, culliers, aneaus.’

about the case, each by himself in the presence of the Esgart and of the parties, and should state the place and the locality where the things asked of him happened. And this is well ordained, because if any brethren through worldly sinfulness had any hatred or evil intent towards any brother, and should have come to the superior, and should have accused the brother of any disgraceful matter for which he should be heard, and the superior hearing it should lodge a complaint against that brother of that matter, and should say how he certainly had what was necessary and should make his witnesses come forward, the brother should reply in this manner : ‘Sir, of a truth that which these prud’hommes have said and borne witness against me, does not trouble me at all. God knows, Sir, I never did it, may it please God. And concerning that which they say that I did at such and such an hour, or on such and such a day, or in such and such a night, I will prove by good brethren that at that hour or in that night on which they say I did that thing, I was in such and such a locality or in such and such a place.’ If that brother can prove this, his witnesses should also be equally heard in this case like the first.

101. CONCERNING THE SAME.—Item, likewise also, if a brother should inflict a wound on his body, and through hatred and evil intent should come to the superior and should lodge his complaint against any brother, who was not to blame in this matter, and should state how he had all that is necessary, and how he dealt him that blow, and should show the mark. The brother against whom the complaint shall be lodged, and who was not to blame in the matter, should reply in this manner : ‘Concerning the complaint which this brother lodges against me, God knows, I have no need to defend myself against that for which I was not to blame. Wherefore Sir, I shall prove by the witness of good brethren that at that hour or on that day that he says that this blow was delivered, I was not in that place where he says,

but I was in such and such a locality and such and such a place.' And the second witnesses should also be heard in that case equally with the first.

102. WHICH DEALS WITH THE SICK BRETHREN WHO ARE IN THE INFIRMARY.—In the House of the Hospital it is customary that the sick brethren, who are in the Infirmary, when they desire to go to the baths or to any place of recreation (*leuc desture*), should ask leave of the Infirmarian, and with his leave they can rightly go.

103. WHICH DEALS WITH THOSE INDISPOSED.—If a brother feel indisposed, and he come to his bailiff, and he ask his leave to eat at the table of the Infirmary, and his bailiff refuse it, he should go to the Master or to whoever occupies his place, and should inform him how through indisposition he asked leave of his bailiff to eat at the table of the Infirmary, and his bailiff refused him leave. If the Master give him leave, he should inform the Infirmarian how he is of his table, and should eat there. And afterwards if his bailiff complain of him, the brother should not be under sentence, because he did his duty towards his superior, and through his indisposition did eat at the table of the Infirmary.

104. WHICH DEALS WITH THE MEAT THAT A BROTHER SHOULD HAVE WHO IS UNDER SENTENCE.—In the House of the Hospital it is customary that when the brethren are under sentence, they should be served with such bread as the Convent uses, the wine and the meat should be stopped, unless the Master or another bailiff¹ make them a pittance.

105. WHICH DEALS WITH THOSE WHO ARE BLED.—In the House of the Hospital it is customary that the brethren should be bled on Saturdays, if they have leave, and they should have on the Saturday a pittance at dinner and at supper, and on the Sunday at dinner.

¹ Daniel de St. Estène here adds the words : 'when the Master is not there.'

And if it be in Lent or should be a fast day, they should have a pittance on the Saturday at dinner, and on the Sunday at dinner and at supper. And if there shall be any brother who shall have need to be bled on another day than the Saturday, he can eat at the table of the Infirmary. Because it is not customary to place a pittance on the table, except on the Saturdays.¹

106. WHICH STATES HOW IT SHALL BE PERMISSIBLE TO TAKE A HORSE FOR PRESENTATION.—If the Master desire to give to any king or prince any horse of his own or of another brother for the good of the House, he should do it. And when he shall have taken counsel about it, if the horse belong to any brother, the Master can rightly cause it to be taken and give it to the king or prince about whom he shall have taken counsel. And at the first Passage² which shall arrive with remounts (bestes), there should be given to that brother a good charger (cheval reisnable), in place of his own, without blemish.

Item, if a brother of the Convent or another have a fine horse, and the Master have need of it for his own use, the Master can rightly take it, but the Master cannot for this reason take a horse from one brother and give it to another brother.

107. WHICH DEALS WITH REQUESTS FOR LEAVE TO FAST.—If any brother ask leave of his superior to fast on bread and water, and the brother go to the Hall to eat, and the seneschal of the Hall serve him with that which the Convent has to eat, whether of flesh or of fish³ and the brother suffer the seneschal to serve him, and do not tell him that he is fasting on bread and water, and his bailiff complain of it, he should undergo sentence.⁴

¹ Daniel de St. Estène here adds the words : ‘but always he should inform his bailiff and the Infirmarian.’

² For the Passages see footnote to Statute 21 of 1283, p. 85.

³ Daniel de St. Estène here adds ‘and of eggs’.

⁴ Daniel de St. Estène says ‘of the Septaine’.

108. WHICH DEALS WITH THE PRAYER FOR DECEASED BRETHREN.—In the House of the Hospital it is customary that every time the mass is chanted for a deceased brother, the Prior of the Church after the offering should say the prayer and the Infirmarian should take the money (deniers) of the offering, and carry it to the Master, and the Master should give it for the Service of God.

THIS IS THE PRAYER.—Let us pray for the soul of our brother so-and-so, for whom we perform this holy office, that God of His Mercy keep his soul in peace. Let us pray for the souls of our brethren and of our confratres, and of all our benefactors, and for the souls of our fathers, and our mothers and of our ancestors, and especially for the souls of those who lie in our cemetery and in the other cemeteries qui sunt per universum mundum, that they may have true peace. Then should be said : De profundis, Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison, Pater Noster, Et ne nos inducas in temptationem Aporta inferis, Requiescant in pace, Amen, Domine exaudi orationes, Dominus vobiscum, Oremus, Inclina, Deus cujus miseratione, Fidelium.¹

109. WHICH STATES HOW IT IS CUSTOMARY TO HOLD CHAPTER-GENERAL.—In the House of the Hospital it is customary that when it is desired to hold Chapter-General, the first day that the Chapter is to be held, first of all the Mass of the Holy Ghost should be chanted early in the morning. And after the Mass has been said, the Master should order the bell to be rung. When the bell shall be rung, the bailiffs and the brethren should all come and assemble in the place where the Chapter is to be held. And when all shall be assembled, the proceedings should begin with : ‘Veni creator spiritus,’ repeated three times with knees bent to the ground. And after the third time the entire hymn should be completed, which runs : ‘Veni creator spiritus, mentes tuorum visita, imple superna gracia

¹ Daniel de St. Estène gives these prayers in full.

que tu creasti pectora.' And afterwards the deacon should read the Gospel: 'Cum venerit filius hominis in majestate sua.' And the Gospel being read, the sermon should be preached. After the sermon shall be finished, the Rule should be read. The Master should say a few brief words, as is customary, because at Chapters-General there is much business to do. After the Master shall have spoken, if there shall be there any ancient prud'homme who can remember or say anything of the good usages and good customs of the House, he should say it. And afterwards the bailiffs should each relate the state of his bailiwick.

Firstly the Grand Commander should rise, and should relate the state of his bailiwick, and deliver up his roll, in which should be written the whole state of the House, and the provision that he shall have left in the offices which shall have been under his orders, and should deliver up his seal¹ and his purse. After him the Marshal should rise, and should relate the state of his office, and should deliver up his seal and his purse and the Standard, and should deliver up his roll, in which should be contained the provision that he has left in the Marshalship. After him the Hospitaller should rise, and should relate the state of his bailiwick, and should deliver up his seal and his purse, and his roll in which should be written all the provision that he has left in the Hospital. After him the Drapier should rise, and should relate the state of his bailiwick, and deliver up his purse, for he has no seal, and should deliver up his roll in which should be written the provision that is in his office of the Parmentarie. After him the Treasurer should rise, and should relate the state of the Treasury, and deliver up his purse, for he has no seal. After him the Bailiffs of Syria should rise, that

¹ The seal of the Grand Commander has a griffin, that of the Marshal a Knight in armour mounted, and that of the Hospitaller a sick man with a brother attending him, the Drapier and the Treasurer had no official seals.

is to say the Castellans of Le Crac and Margat, and the Commanders of Armenia and Cyprus, and all the others¹ and each in order, according to his degree, and should deliver up their seals and their purses. After them the Bailiffs from beyond the sea² should rise, and should deliver up their seals and their purses, and should relate the state of their Priories, and should deliver up their written reports, in which should be contained the state of their Priories. After all the Bailiffs shall have delivered up their seals and their purses, the rolls and the written reports of the state of their bailiwicks should be read and heard. And they should begin firstly by reading that of the Grand Commander, and afterwards that of the Marshal, and afterwards those of each of the others according to his degree, just as has been laid down above.

The state of the bailiwicks being heard, if there be any complaints that the Master or any other brother desire to lodge, they should be lodged and heard, and they should be corrected by the Esgart of the Chapter-General.

After this the Master should say : ‘The prud’hommes shall go apart to examine and consider the state of the House, whether there shall be need to make any correction, either in augmentation or diminution, or to make any ordinances for the lands this side the sea or beyond.’ Upon this the Master should order the most ancient and from each Tongue equally to go apart. And when the Master shall have ordered as many brethren and prud’hommes as shall seem to him to be sufficient, he should go with them. And then when they shall be together, if it shall seem good to them to

¹ The other Capitular Bailiffs of Syria were probably the Commanders of Antioch, Tripolis, Tiberias and Tyre. See Statutes No. 8 of 1181, No. 5 of 1270, and No. 5 of 1283, pp. 37, 75, 82.

² The Capitular Bailiffs beyond the sea are the nineteen Priors, the Castellan of Amposta, and the Commanders of St. Euphemia, the Morea, and the Holy Trinity of Venusia.

make any ordinances, they should do so. And the messages from beyond the sea should be heard, and if there shall be need to make any correction, they should make it. After this the bailiffs should be appointed.

And when the bailiffs are about to be appointed, the Master should leave the place where the Chapter is, and should cause the bell to be rung to assemble the brethren. And when the brethren shall be assembled, the Master should say : ‘We have been for a long time examining and considering about the business of the House, and it would be well for us now to appoint the bailiffs. Go apart, and appoint a Grand Commander.’ All the ancient brethren, who shall have been at the Council,¹ should go apart, and the Master should put a prud’homme in his own place to ask their opinion. And he who shall ask their opinion, should ask firstly the Prior of the Church, and afterwards the more ancient of the others. And when all shall have spoken, the Companions² of the Master should go to seek the Master. And when the Master shall be there, the prud’homme who shall have taken his place shall say to him : ‘Sir, the prud’hommes by your orders have been engaged in appointing a Grand Commander, and the prud’hommes desire to have your advice about him.’ The Master shall reply as shall seem good to him, as to whether he shall be in agreement with the appointment or otherwise. All the same, his advice having been heard, the Master should withdraw, and he who is taking the place of the Master at the Council should ask : ‘What think you of that which the Master has said?’. Then each shall speak as shall seem good to him, whether they agree upon that prud’homme upon whom they were agreed before, or upon the one whom the Master will agree. And when they shall

¹ By the Council is meant the representatives from each Tongue mentioned in the previous paragraph.

² The Companions of the Master are the two knights mentioned in the Statutes of Margat, Para. 10, see also Statute 4 of 1302, pp. 48, 122.

all be in agreement, they should all go out thence. And he who shall have taken the place of the Master at the Council shall rise and say : ‘Master, we have been apart by the orders of God and of you to appoint a Grand Commander, the prud’hommes are in agreement that it should be so and so, for he is a prud’homme and ancient, and in all the places that he has been he has done well, and he will do well in this bailiwick, if it please God.’ The Master should summon that prud’homme, whom they shall have named (moti), and the prud’homme should come forward. And the Master should give him the kiss, and should give him the purse and the seal. After him the Master should charge the prud’hommes to appoint a Hospitaller and a Treasurer together, and they should act in like manner as aforesaid. After them they should appoint the Marshal and the Drapier together. And before the Marshal is invested in the presence of the Chapter, if the Master should desire to retain any ancient prud’homme at his disposition, he should do it. For as soon as the Marshal is invested in the presence of the Chapter, all the brethren are under his orders, and the Master can retain no one. After them they should appoint the Priors beyond the sea. And when the bailiffs are all appointed, the Master and the prud’hommes should go apart. And if there be any bailiff to recall, they should recall him. And if there be any prud’homme to whom they should desire to grant a grace of any house,¹ they should do it.

And when everything shall be accomplished that they should wish to do and ordain, the Master should cause the bell to be rung, and all the brethren and prud’hommes should assemble. And then in the presence of all they should read out the Statutes and Ordinances, the recalls of the bailiffs and the graces that shall have been granted at the Chapter. After this, if there shall be any prud’homme, who shall desire to say anything,

¹ The earliest reference to Commanderies of Grace, that is, bestowed irrespective of customary rules.

he should say it. And if the Master or any brother should desire to make any reservation (of a complaint) he should do it.¹ And if there shall be anyone who shall have left the company of the House, and shall desire to come for pardon, let him come, for these things they should do on the last day of the Chapter. After this the Master should say a few suitable words, and command that the Statutes and Ordinances of the Chapter should be kept and should permit the prud'hommes to depart in mutual affection and concord. And after this shall be done, the Prior should say the prayers. And thus it is customary to close the Chapter.

110. WHICH STATES HOW THE BRETHREN SHOULD ACT WHEN THEY ARE SICK.—In the House of the Hospital it is ordained that when any bailiff or other brother of the Convent or at-Office is sick, they should send to seek the Prior, and should make their confession² and the Prior should talk with them and enquire if they have any debts, or if they have anything of anyone entrusted to them, or if anyone owes them anything, and where are their equipment and their belongings and concerning the quantity of money (peccunie) and plate (vaisella) and jewels. And when he shall have known rightly the state of the brother, he should administer the sacrament to him. And when the brother shall have received the sacrament, the Prior should take the keys of the brother and should keep them. And as soon as God shall have summoned the brother to Himself, the Master Equerry the Brother of the Parmentarie and the Infirmarian should come, and should seal the belongings of the brother.³ And the Brother of the Parmentarie should cause them to bring palliasses in which to put

¹ For this sentence, Daniel de St. Estène substitutes the following : 'And if the Master, or any brother, should desire to lodge any complaint, he should do it. And if the Master or any brother should desire to reserve any complaint, he should reserve it before the Chapter be closed.'

² See Statute 38 of 1262, p. 64.

³ See Statute 37 of 1262, p. 63.

the equipment, and it should all be sealed, and should not be unsealed except in the presence of the aforesaid. And as soon as the brother is committed to the earth, the Prior should deliver up the keys to the superior, that is to say, if he be a bailiff, he should deliver up the keys to the Master, if he be a brother of the Convent to the Marshal, and if he be a brother-at-office to the Grand Commander.

III. THESE ARE THE BELONGINGS OF THE DECEASED BAILIFFS WHICH APPERTAIN TO THE MASTER, AND OF THOSE WHOM HE RETAINS AT HIS DISPOSITION.—Firstly, silver cups with feet and without feet, and all silver plate, rings, silver spoons, balls of amber, pieces of uncut cloth, uncut linen (*teles*), table napkins and hand towels, carpets of Turkey, and rugs (*banquals*), uncut camlet, pieces of uncut sendal, hangings (*tapis*), basins, drinking-tubes (*siffles*), holy-water pots (*orceaus*), uncut calendered stuff, uncut cloth of silk, coffers and chests (*forciers*), and boxes (*huches*), all kitchen utensils, towels (*taules*), skewers (*auguilliers*), breviaries, psalters,¹ chalices of fine silver.²

112. THESE ARE THE BELONGINGS WHICH APPERTAIN TO THE MARSHAL OF THE BAILIFFS AND BRETHREN THAT THE MASTER HAS AT HIS DISPOSITION.—Firstly, all manner of armour, all manner of saddles, headstalls (*chevestreus*),³ arbalests, lances, darts, wallets (*bezaces*), livery rugs (*carpitres de lievrason*), chargers, hacks, mules,⁴ Turkish arms.

113. THESE ARE THE BELONGINGS OF DECEASED BRETHREN-AT-ARMS WHICH APPERTAIN TO THE MARSHAL.—Firstly, silver cups with feet and without feet, all manner of silver and gold plate, rings, silver spoons,

¹ Daniel de St. Estène says : ‘psalters plain and Roman.’

² Compare this paragraph with Statute 1 of 1304, p. 130.

³ For this item Daniel de St. Estène substitutes : ‘all manner of harness of beasts.’

⁴ Here Daniel de St. Estène inserts the following : ‘and quarrels and nose-bags (*profinels*), and reins, and bridles, and’, etc.

balls of amber, silver girdles, pieces of uncut cloth, uncut linen, table napkins, hand towels, carpets of Turkey, mats (*quanbois*), rugs (*bancals*), uncut camlet, uncut sendal, uncut samite, uncut cloth of silk, bed-testers (*espallières*), hangings, basins, drinking-tubes, holy-water pots, uncut calendered stuff, wine, coffers, chests, boxes, kitchen utensils, towels, skewers (*aguilliers*), all manner of saddles, darts, bardings, gonfanons, pen-noncelles, chargers, hacks, mules, Turkish arms, carpets, rugs (*boncels*), crow-bars (*pinceors*), axes, all manner of armour and of harness for animals, long-bows (*arcs de bodoc*), table knives, breviaries, Roman psalters, chalices of silver, all manner of armour, arbalests.¹

114. THESE ARE THE BELONGINGS OF THE BAILIFFS AND OF ALL OTHER DECEASED BRETHREN WHICH APPERTAIN TO THE DRAPIER.—Firstly, all uncut cloth, all manner of curtains, coverlets, sheets, bed-testers (*esparniers*), cut linen, and embroidered turbans (*toaillons rachamés*), brimmed hats and birettas, buckrams, all manner of cloth of silk or of flax or of wool that has been taken into use, soap, palliasses, mattresses (*sacs de lit*), blankets, pillows, all manner of made robes (*roubes cousites*), cassocks (*garnages*), kerchiefs, cords for mantles, cords for hats, woven girdles.

115. THESE ARE THE BELONGINGS OF DECEASED BRETHREN-AT-OFFICE WHICH APPERTAIN TO THE MARSHAL.—Firstly, all manner of armour, Turkish arms, swords, lances, leather cuirasses (*coreaus de fetur*), saddles, plate armour (*platines*), hauberks, paunchers (*gipells*), breast plates (*soubre seignals*), iron hats, darts, bascinets.²

116. THESE ARE THE BELONGINGS OF BAILIFFS OR OTHER BRETHREN WHICH APPERTAIN TO THE GRAND COMMANDER.—Firstly, silver cups with feet and without feet, all manner of silver plate, rings, silver spoons, balls of amber, silver girdles, pieces of uncut cloth,

¹ Compare this paragraph with Statute 2 of 1304, p. 131.

² Compare this paragraph with Statute 3 of 1304, p. 132.

table napkins, hand towels, carpets of Turkey, mats (cambois), rugs (bancaus), uncut camlet, uncut samite and sendal, holy-water pots, basins, drinking tubes, uncut cloth of silk, hangings, coffers, chests, boxes, breviaries, missals, Roman psalters, chalices of silver, kitchen utensils, wine.

117. THESE ARE THE BELONGINGS OF EVERY BAILIFF OR OTHER BROTHER WHICH APPERTAIN TO THE CHURCH.—Firstly, cloth of gold, and of the Capitular Bailiffs this side the sea and beyond, their canopies (chapelles), excepting gold or silver, all should come to the Church, that is to say where the Convent and the Master are. And if there be cloth of gold, or coverlets of silk, they should come to the Palais des Malades.

118. WHICH DEALS WITH THE INFIRMARIAN.—The Infirmarian should have from each deceased brother the blanket from his bed, and two sheets (linceaus) and the cushion.

119. WHICH DEALS WITH WATER WHEN IT IS ORDERED FOR BRETHREN WHO FAIL TO COME TO MATINS.—In the House of the Hospital it is customary when the Master issues orders for water, or the Marshal or another Bailiff orders it to be drunk, that the Marshal or whoever orders water, should be outside the Minster with a lantern, and all those who shall not have come to the Minster before that hour are placed on water, and should drink it. And in the Auberges the Marshal can order water after the Hours in the chapel.¹

120. HOW A LIEUTENANT OF A BAILIFF SHOULD BE APPOINTED.—When the Master is in Council for appointing a Lieutenant of a Bailiff, or desires to send any brother on a mission, and the prud'hommes are assembled for this purpose, the Master can detail one brother, whoever shall seem good to him and no more. And if there shall be any prud'homme who should desire to detail any other brother he can do it; but it shall be

¹ Compare this with Statute No. 5 of 1262, No. 28 of 1301, and No. 8 of 1304, pp. 54, 116, 133.

necessary that there should be two prud'hommes who desire to detail him, for he should not go forth at the wish of one, but at the wish of two.

121. WHICH STATES HOW A BROTHER SHOULD BE RECEIVED.—He who should desire to be a brother of the Hospital should come on a Sunday into the presence of the Chapter, and should ask of the Master, or of whomsoever shall be holding the Chapter, the company of the brethren. Then the Master, or whosoever shall be holding the Chapter, should ask the brethren whether he shall be received. And if the greater part are in agreement, he should be received.¹

And when he is about to be received, whosoever shall receive him as a brother should say to him : ‘Good friend, you ask for the company of the House and with reason, for a multitude of gentlemen beseech us earnestly and rejoice exceedingly when they can place any of their children or of their friends in this Religion. And if you have the desire to be in so excellent and so honourable a company, and in so holy a Religion, as that of the Hospital, you have reason. And though it be that you see us well clad and with fine chargers, and all things for our comfort, you are warned that when you would eat, it will be necessary to fast, and when you would fast, it will be necessary to eat. And when you would sleep, it will be necessary to watch, and when you would watch, it will be necessary to sleep, and you will be sent, this side (the sea) and beyond, to places where you will not wish, and it will be necessary to go there. And so it will be necessary to abandon all your own desires to do those of another, and the other hardships that it will be necessary to endure in the Religion are more than I can tell you. Are you willing to endure all these things ?’ He should reply : ‘Yes, if it please God.’

Then he should say to him : ‘And there is still more : we desire to know from you, if you have promised or vowed to enter into any other Religion. Also we wish

¹ See Statute 26 of 1262, p. 59.

to know from you if you have married a wife,¹ for if to-morrow or later she come to seek you, we should rend the habit from your shoulders, and deliver you up to your wedded wife. Likewise also we wish to know from you if you have any debt by which the House could be burdened, for if to-morrow creditors should come for any great debt, and should prove that you owed them anything, we should strip the habit from your shoulders, and deliver you up to your debtors. Likewise also we wish to know from you if you are the serf of any lord.' Concerning each of these things he should reply : ' No.'

Then the Missal should be brought, and he should place his hands upon the book, and they should say to him this : ' You promise and vow unto God and unto Our Lady and unto Our Lord St. John Baptist to live and to die in obedience, and to be obedient unto whatsoever superior God shall give you. And likewise you promise to live in chastity until your death. And likewise you promise to live without property of your own. Also we make another promise, which no other people make, for you promise to be the serf and slave of our lords the sick.' And to each of these things he should reply : ' Yes, if it please God.'

Then whosoever receives him should say : ' And we promise unto you bread and water and humble raiment, for you can demand nothing else of the House of right. And we include your soul, and the souls of your father and of your mother, and of your kindred, in the masses and the matins and the vespers and the hours and the orisons and the fastings and the alms, and in all the good words done and to be done in the House from the foundation of the Religion unto the Day of Judgement, when may Our Lord grant unto you the same reward that each one of us hopes to receive.'

¹ Daniel de St. Estène here adds the words : ' or have plighted your troth, or have sworn to any woman to take her to wife, for you should understand that if you have a wife, and she, etc.'

After this he who is about to become a brother should take the book, and carry it to the Minster, and place it upon the altar, and then carry it back, and should come before whosoever is about to appoint him a brother, and he should take the book from him, and should take the mantle, and should say : ‘Behold this, the sign of the Cross, which you wear on this mantle in remembrance of Him, Who for you suffered death and passion on the cross, for you and for all the rest of us sinners. And may God, by the cross and by the vow of obedience that you have made in faith and in deed, keep and protect you, now and forever, from the power of the Devil.’ And then the bailiff should place the mantle upon his shoulders, and should kiss him, and then he should kiss all the brethren who are present. Amen.

122. WHICH DEALS WITH THOSE WHO WISH TO BE CONFRATRES IN THE HOUSE OF THE HOSPITAL.—When any prud’homme asks to become a Confrater of the House, the Master or the Commander or whosoever is about to receive him as a Confrater, should cause the brethren to assemble. And when the brethren shall be assembled, the prud’homme who is about to become a Confrater should come before them, and whosoever is about to receive him as a Confrater should hold the Missal in his hands, and the prud’homme should place his hands upon the book, and he should promise that from that time forward to the best of his power he will cleave to the House of the Hospital and to the brethren in all things, and that he will defend them to the best of his power against all malefactors, and that he will protect the goods of the House. And if he cannot protect and defend them, he will make it known to the brethren of the House, and to the best of his power he will prevent harm coming to the Hospital. And if he should wish to enter into Religion, he shall enter into that of the Hospital, and if in his life-time he shall not wish to enter into Religion, at his death he shall be

regarded as having done so, and he shall be buried in the cemetery of the House. And every year in gratitude, for his confraternity he shall make some gift to the House on the festival of St. John.

And when the Confrater shall have made this promise, whosoever shall have received him should say : ‘By the promise that you have made to God and to Our Lady and to Our Lord St. John Baptist, and to our lords the sick, we include you and the souls of your father and of your mother and of all your kindred in the masses and in the matins and in the vespers and in all the orisons, which are celebrated in the House of the Hospital throughout all the world, and shall be so celebrated until the Day of Judgement : and may Our Lord then grant unto you as good a reward as each one of us hopes to receive.’ And when this shall be said, he should give him the kiss and all the brethren who shall be present likewise. And then they should cause his name to be written in the Book of the Confratres, and that which he shall promise to give each year in gratitude for his confraternity.

123. THIS IS THE DUTY CONCERNING THE PATER-NOSTERS WHICH THE BRETHREN OF THE HOSPITAL SHOULD SAY FOR THE HOURS EACH DAY.—Here it is decreed in the Holy House of the Hospital that each brother, who is not a priest, should say every day one hundred and fifty Paternosters :

for Matins of the day, thirteen ;
 for Matins of Our Lady, thirteen ;
 for Prime of the day, seven ;
 for Prime of Our Lady, seven ;
 for Tierce of the day, and of Our Lady, fourteen ;
 for Midi of the day, and of Our Lady, fourteen ;
 for Nones of the day, and of Our Lady, fourteen ;
 for Vespers of the day, and of Our Lady, fourteen¹ ;

¹ Daniel de St. Estène substitutes : ‘for Vespers of the day, nine ; and for Vespers of the Virgin, nine.’ He then adds : ‘for Compline of the day, and of the Virgin, fourteen.’ These corrections bring

for the fifteen Psalms, which are said before Matins,
they should say fifteen Paternosters ;
for Vigils of the dead, fourteen ;
and for Vespers of the dead, seven.

And these Paternosters the brethren should say every day, either before or after, or all together, as it may please them.

124. HOW AND WHEN THE BRETHREN SHOULD MAKE GENUFLEXIONS.—It is customary in the Holy House of the Hospital that the brethren should make genuflexions at the Hours and at Mass, excepting on those days and at those times hereafter laid down.¹ Firstly, when the brethren enter into the church, they should make the sign of the cross on their hearts, and take of the holy water, and kneel down in their places, and say at least one Paternoster. And then they should rise up and hear the Hours. And after the Hours are said, they should kneel down, and say one Paternoster.

Item, the brethren should not make genuflexions at a Mass which has nine lections, nor in the octaves of solemn festivals, except from the elevation to the Peace.

Item, in the octaves of Easter and Whitsuntide, we do not make them, except as on Sundays, and at festivals with nine lections.

Item, from Holy Saturday up to the octave of Whitsuntide, we do not make genuflexions, except from the elevation to the Peace.

Item, every time that ‘Credo in unum Deum’ is chanted, and ‘Descendit in celis’ is said, then they should kneel down until ‘Et resurrexit tercia die’ is said, and then they should rise up.

Item, on Sundays and at festivals with nine lections, the brethren should remain kneeling from the elevation up to ‘Per omnia secula seculorum’ of the Paternoster, and then they should rise up.

the number of Paternosters up to the one hundred and fifty laid down.

¹ See Statute 1 of 1302, p. 121.

Item, every day which is not in the octaves, or a feast-day of nine lections, when the priest begins the Hours, and says 'Deus in adjutorium meum intende,' the brethren should make a genuflexion, and rise up immediately.

Item, every ordinary day (*jours feriaus*),¹ each time that 'Kyrieleison' is said, at all the Hours the brethren should remain kneeling.

Item, when Matins of Our Lady are said on ordinary days, when the Invitatory begins, each time that the 'Ave Maria' is said, the brethren should kneel down.

Item, the brethren should remain kneeling as long as the lections and the responses are being said, and when the 'Gloria Patri' with three responses is said, they should rise up. And when the 'Benedictus' is said, the brethren should make genuflexions until the orison of Our Lady is said. At all the other Hours, when the cleric shall be chanting the responses, the brethren should remain kneeling, until the orison is said. At Vespers of Our Lady, after the 'Magnificat' is said until the orison is said, the brethren should remain kneeling.²

Item, at Compline of Our Lady, as soon as 'Nunc dimittis' is said, the brethren should remain kneeling until 'Salve regina' is said. Every time that 'Salve sancta parens' should be said, after the morning mass and at the orison of Our Lady, the brethren should kneel down.

Item, on ordinary days when the brethren are at Mass, and the 'Sanctus' is said, as soon as 'Benedictus qui venit' is said, the brethren should kneel

¹ The 'jours feriaus' are those days of the week which are neither fast-days nor festivals, see p. 67, footnote.

² Daniel de St. Estène here adds: 'At other Hours of Our Lady, as soon as the cleric shall begin the responses, the brethren should remain kneeling, until the orison is said.'

down, and remain kneeling until the post-communion, when the priest says 'Deus vobiscum.'

Item, when the brethren rise from table to say grace, on ordinary days 'Miserere mei Deus' should be said, and so long as they shall be in the Minster, they should remain kneeling, until the graces are said. At festivals with nine lections 'Lauda Jerusalem' should be said; at double festivals, the nine responses of Matins. And if it happen that on the Vigils of festivals, Nones¹ are said before eating, for grace 'Lauda Jerusalem Dominum' should be said. And if food be served before Nones are said, 'Miserere mei Deus' should be said, and they should kneel down, because after Nones begin, the festival has commenced.

Item, every time the fifteen Psalms are said, the brethren should remain kneeling.

Item, it is customary in Lent every day that is not a festival with nine lections, that after the Matins of the day the seven Psalms, and the Litany are said. And as long as they are being said, the brethren should remain kneeling.

Item, in Lent when 'Media vita' is said at Compline, on ordinary days, when 'Sanctus Deus' shall be said three times, on all three occasions the brethren should kneel down.

Item, when 'Vexilla regis prodeunt' shall begin to be said, the first Sunday that it shall begin, they should make genuflexions when 'O crux ave spes unica' shall be said. On the other days they should make genuflexions on ordinary days, and not otherwise. Every time that the Mass of the dead is chanted, when the priest says 'Hostias et preces', all the brethren should kneel down.

125. Every night after Compline, the priest and the

¹ In summer, except on Vigils and such-like days when None was said before the dinner, that canonical Hour was recited after the midday sleep. See Gasquet's *English Monastic Life*, p. 147.

clerics should go in procession to the Palais des Malades, and the Seneschal of the Palais des Malades, or another brother, should say this prayer :

(Here follows the prayer).¹

126. WHICH STATES WHEN AND AT WHAT TIMES IT IS CUSTOMARY TO PREACH A SERMON IN THE HOUSE OF THE HOSPITAL.—In the Holy House of the Hospital it is customary to preach a sermon every Sunday before the morning Mass. Every time that the Master holds a Chapter during the year there should be a sermon, and at Chapter-General also.

127. WHICH DEALS WITH THE DECEASED BRETHREN.—When a brother dies in the night, he should be carried into the church, before Prime has begun, and after Mass and the Hours, the Vigils should be said for him. And if the brother die after Prime, he should be left until the Hour that it is customary to say the Vigils of the dead, and then should be carried to the Minster. And before Vespers are said, the orisons that are customary should be said, and afterwards he should be carried to the cemetery. And when the brother dies after Vespers, before Compline begins he should be carried to the Minster, and there the brethren should watch him, and after Mass and the Hours, the Vigils should be said for the brother ; and they should carry the deceased brother first of all to the Palais des Malades, and afterwards into the church.

128. WHICH STATES WHEN THE BRETHREN SHOULD MAKE OBLATIONS.—The brethren of the Hospital should not make oblations, except once a year, that is to say at the Candlemas of Our Lady. And they should make oblations when a service is chanted for a departed brother.

129. WHICH DEALS WITH THE PRAYER WHEN IT SHOULD BE SAID.—In the House of the Hospital it is customary every Sunday at the morning Mass that the Prior of the Church after the offering should announce the

¹ This prayer is not printed in the *Cartulaire-Général*.

festivals, and afterwards say the prayer ; except if there shall be a Chapter¹ during the year, the prayer should not be said that day in the Minster, but at the Chapter. When the prayer is said in the Minster, the brethren should remain standing. And when the prayer is said in Chapter, the brethren should remain standing. And when the Chapter is finished, the Prior of the Church should first give the kiss to the Master, and afterwards to all the Capitular Bailiffs, first especially to the Bailiffs of the Convent. And this should be done at the Chapters-General, and at all the Chapters that the Master holds during the year.

130. THIS IS THE PRAYER THAT SHOULD BE SAID IN THE HOUSE OF THE HOSPITAL IN THE CHURCH AND AT CHAPTERS-GENERAL AND DURING THE YEAR.

(Here follows the prayer).²

THESE ARE FURTHER CUSTOMS OF OUR HOUSE WHICH WE COULD NOT PUT WITH THE OTHER CUSTOMS BECAUSE WE FOUND THEM AFTER THESE OTHER THINGS WERE FINISHED : AND FOR THIS REASON WE HAVE PUT THEM HERE AFTER THE ESGARTS AND SO AS NOT TO DISARRANGE THE RUBRICS ALREADY SET DOWN.

131. CONCERNING A BROTHER WHO WEARS SHOES.—It is customary in our House that no brother should wear shoes (galoches) ; and if he do it, and the bailiff complain of it, he should undergo the Quarantaine.

132. CONCERNING A BROTHER WHO WEARS SANDALS.—Item, that no brother should wear sandals (planeaus) ; and if he do it, he should undergo the Quarantaine, if the bailiff complain of it.

133. CONCERNING A BROTHER WHO EATS OR DRINKS WITHOUT HIS HABIT.—Item, it is customary in our House that no brother should eat or drink without his habit ; and if he do it, and the bailiff complain of it, he should undergo the Quarantaine.

134. CONCERNING A BROTHER WHO EATS OR DRINKS

¹ Obviously this means the Chapter-General.

² This prayer is not printed in the *Cartulaire-Général*.

STANDING.—Item, that no brother should eat or drink standing, and if he do it, and the bailiff complain of it, he should undergo the Septaine.

135. CONCERNING A BROTHER WHO RISES FROM TABLE BEFORE HE HAS EATEN.—Item, it is customary in our House that no brother should rise from table until he has eaten. And if he be eating in the Convent with the other brethren and rise, and the bailiff complain of it, he should undergo the Septaine, and not return to eat on this occasion ; if he rise and sit down away from the table, he should not return to eat. And if he rise and stand where he is, and do not go away from the table, he should not return to eat again, but he should have no other sentence, except if he do eat afterwards and the bailiff complain of it, he should undergo the Septaine.

136. CONCERNING A BROTHER WHO REMOVES HIS BIRETTA AND REMAINS IN HIS COIF WITHOUT REASON.—Item, it is customary in our House that no brother should remove his biretta to hold it in his hand, unless it be for the Gospel or for the Body of the Lord, or from respect for his superior, or for reasonable cause. And if, because his head is hot or for some other cause which is not reasonable, he remove his biretta, and hold it in his hand, or where it shall please him, and the bailiff complain of it, he should undergo the Septaine.

137. CONCERNING A BROTHER WHO WEARS POINTED BOOTS.—Item, it is customary in our House that no brother should be booted with pointed boots (*chauses avantpiés*) ¹ ; and if he do it, and the bailiff complain of it, he should undergo the Septaine.

¹ This refers to those long pointed boots so fashionable at one time in the Middle Ages, the pointed toes of which were often so exaggerated that they had to be attached to the knees by chains.

APPENDICES

- A. POPE BONIFACE'S REBUKE TO THE
MASTER ODO DES PINS**
- B. SUGGESTED SCHEME OF REFORM
IN 1295**
- C. LIST OF GRIEVANCES OF THE
HOSPITALLERS**

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APPENDIX A

POPE BONIFACE'S REBUKE TO THE MASTER ODO DES PINS

Letter dated 12th August 1295¹

BONIFACE THE BISHOP, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved son Brother Odo des Pins, Master of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, greeting and apostolic benediction.

Among all the things that you should wish and desire, this should be the first, that you should give pleasure to the King, who sits upon the throne of Heaven, by rendering acceptable services, and that you should not cease to add continually to your salvation and renown. But according to that which has been stated by persons worthy of belief, you in your office of Master, behave as though it were your object that the world should talk of your grand and beneficent works, a thing very unsuitable and of no benefit, and that it is for this reason that you do not observe the laudable customs and honourable statutes and suitable and convenient ordinances of your Religion and Order, neither considering nor maintaining carefully the community . . .², which your predecessors the Masters of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, by their laudable life and conversation and in the dedication of themselves to good works, have for a long time past observed. And also because the things, that have been mentioned above, are true and displeasing to God and to the prejudice of your salvation and to the great weakening

¹ Printed in the *Cartulaire-Général*, Vol. III, No. 4293, from a translation into French by Fr. William de St. Estène, Grand Commander of Cyprus from 1299–1303.

² A few words are here missing.

of your renown, and because they tend to the great detriment and abasement of the Hospital, we beseech and admonish your discretion very earnestly, and moreover by the tenor of these letters command you that, turning to those things which are to the benefit of your salvation, and considering the enhancement of your honour, you should bear yourself from henceforward wisely and discreetly and carry out your works suitably in such manner that you should deserve praise, and that no more sinister reports of you or of your works should from henceforward reach us, so that it may not be necessary for a remedy for these things to be found by the provision of the Apostolic See, but trust that you will seek to please the Divine Majesty, and that you will be worthy of my favour and that of the Apostolic See.

Written at Anagnia on the 2nd day before the Ides of August in the first year of our episcopacy (i.e. 12th August 1295).

APPENDIX B

SUGGESTED SCHEME OF REFORM IN 1295¹

WHICH DEALS WITH THE ORDINANCES WHICH WERE SUBMITTED TO THE APOSTOLIC FATHER BY SEVERAL ANCIENT BRETHREN AND OF GREAT POWER IN THE RELIGION FOR THE REFORMATION OF OUR RELIGION WHICH WAS THEN BADLY GOVERNED, IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1295.

Among other prud'hommes of our Religion, Capitular Bailiffs and those who had been Bailiffs, and other discreet ancient brethren, who were living or had come to the court of the Pope for various reasons, there was one who had been (Grand Commander this side the sea), and was Grand Commander of all the lands beyond the sea. And his name was Brother Boniface de Calamandracen,² a man of great renown in the world and in the Religion, and Brother William de Villaret, a man known to kings and barons and princes and beloved by them, at that time Prior of St. Gilles, and other Capitular Bailiffs and ancient brethren, as has been said above, who were discussing there concerning the reform of the House. And before that, they had talked to others, to Bailiffs and those who had been a long time Grand Bailiffs, most ancient and wise, who were unable to be or to come there, who had advised that certain reforms should be made in our Religion. And for this reason and for the great need of it, the said prud'hommes drew up ordinances in writing

¹ Printed in old French in the *Cartulaire-Général*, Vol. III, No. 4267.

² Boniface de Calamandracen was Grand Commander of the Hospital from 1266-71, and Grand Commander beyond the sea from 1291-8. See Delaville Le Roux, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte*, pp. 410, 415.

in such form that by them our Religion might be well governed. Of which Bailiffs and brethren the said William de Villaret was the most zealous, for the great love that he had for the Order, in which he had been brought up ; and like a good son he worked zealously to meet the great necessity of his parent, that is to say our Order, whose need was so great. These ordinances begin thus saying :—

I. HERE BEGIN THE ORDINANCES.—Several discreet and ancient wise brethren, examining them together, have considered things present and past, and what should happen in the future and at the present time. And they have concluded in their discretion that it is necessary to take steps to provide for the good estate of our Religion. Because they have found the Good Customs and the profitable Statutes, by which the Religion in former days used to be illuminated and resplendent, so corrupted and broken down, that they were no longer kept as a matter of right, but only if one pleased. And for this reason, just as discreet and wise physicians cure the bodies attacked by perilous diseases by a discreet mode of life, in such manner these wise ancient brethren in their great discretion agreed to remedy the evil state of the Religion by suitable and good reforms. And now, in reverence for the true Reformer of all things, Who in His mercy, if it so please Him, sends down the grace of the Holy Spirit, we begin in the name of Jesus Christ saying :—

Our Religion is divided into seven Tongues, to restore and re-establish the government of our Religion, of which the ancient brethren were in the first place in accord, that from each Tongue should be elected one brother, who should be called Definitor of the Religion. And the Master, of whatever Tongue he may be, should take his place in this number ; the brother elected should be the most suitable in the Tongue, whether he be this side the sea or beyond, that is to say he whom they shall esteem so or shall be esteemed by the opinion and report of his fellows. And the six Definitors elected in this manner, and the Master should be the seventh, should be in the position of governing the Religion all their lives, without ever being removed from that office, except for the reasons and in the form and manner of the Statute written hereafter ; and all the seven shall be brother knights

born of lawful marriages. And they should have no other government as long as they live, except of the host at sea or on land or of some secular command in deeds of arms. And when the nobleman aforesaid shall abdicate through death or any of the reasons laid down, a brother from that same Tongue should be elected by the other Definitors and by the Master in the manner aforesaid. And if the Master should die, a brother of the Tongue to which the Master belonged, the most wise and most suitable, as has been said above, should be elected by the other six or by the greater part of them to be a Definitor. Of which Definitors he who shall be in the place of the Master (i.e. the Lieut.-Master), with the advice of the other Definitors, after that the Master shall have been dead as long as two months or within the two months, should assemble the Convent and the other Bailiffs, according to what is the custom in the Religion, which Convent and Bailiffs, within the four days that they shall be assembled, should give to the Definitors seven other brethren, that is one from each Tongue, among which there may be brother priests and brother serjeants. And if within the two days¹ they shall not have given to the said Definitors the seven brethren aforesaid to be with them in the election of the Master . . .,² the election shall remain in the hands of the Definitors, but if they have given them, then let them all join together in making a Master. And let him be Master, upon whom nine or more of them are agreed. And if within eight days they shall not have elected a Master, let them all be shut up together in a chamber or house by the Convent, from which they should not come forth until they shall have made a Master, to whom nothing should be given except bread and water as long as they remain there. And that same thing should be done with the Definitors, if the five or more will not come to an agreement, if the election escheats to them in the manner aforesaid. And the Master elected shall swear upon the Holy Gospels, which shall be borne before him, the undermentioned oath. And if the above mentioned shall elect other than one of the

¹ The previous sentence says four days; which is correct is uncertain, but probably it is two days, since that is ample time for the purpose.

² A few words are here missing.

Definitors, the one of the seven brother Definitors of the Tongue from which the Master shall be elected shall be excluded from all the office which had been committed to him, but not from equality with the brother Definitors, in matters of reverence, honour and authority, and such other things as are or shall be ordained as customary for the six Definitors, saving only that his vote shall have no more force than that of one of the other brethren of the Convent, so long as the Master shall live. And on the death of the Master, he should be in the company of the Six and should recover his vote as one of the Six ; the ordaining of that Definitor, who should be removed from office, who shall be of the Tongue of the new Master, should be firmly kept in the form above laid down. And the business of deliberation, making ordinances and administration, which appertain or may appertain to the maintenance of the Religion, after taking counsel with the other worthy and wise brethren (*frères prud'hommes et sages*) of the Religion, should be carried on according as the Master and the other six Definitors or the greater part of them privately shall appoint. And it should be understood that, in the same order as the Definitors shall be first elected, so they should have their seats in council, and in the same order their opinion shall be asked, and their reply shall be given, save that when the Master shall be dead, the first Definitor should then take the place of Master until a Master be created. And in that case, like the Master, his opinion will be delivered last. And if any of the brethren elected to the office of Definitor be elected from outside the archbishopric, of which the Master and the other Definitors are or shall be, or if any of the said Definitors, should happen then to be outside the said archbishopric, by the advice of the Master and of the other Definitors, who are present, there should be appointed one of the brethren of the Tongue of that Definitor, from among those who shall be present, and he should be in the place of him who shall be absent, or who shall be elected from outside the said archbishopric ; which brother should be the most suitable to be in the place of the said Definitor, who is absent, of all those of the said Tongue, and he should occupy his place until the arrival of him who should be Definitor. And if the above-mentioned elected (Definitor) should die, he who shall be in his place

should be in the same condition as the other brethren of the Convent, and should be discharged from the oath of office which he took.

2. CONCERNING THE SAME.—The oath of those who shall take the place of those Definitors shall be on such conditions : that is for so long as they shall retain the place of so-and-so, naming him by his name, but those elected to the office of Definitor shall swear without conditions upon the Holy Gospels that uninfluenced by love or hate or anger, but with a pure conscience and according to God's will, they will counsel the Master and the other Definitors concerning the needs of the Religion, without any evil intent and with the utmost loyalty possible, and will keep and cause the Master and the other brethren to keep to the best of their power the statutes and ordinances, which shall be made by the Master and by the six Definitors appointed in the manner above mentioned, and also the good customs, which by their decisions shall be duly confirmed. And if the Master or any of the other brethren shall act contrary to the said statutes or ordinances or customs, or against anything that should in justice be done, privately or in secret, in that same manner he shall be reproved and admonished to the best of their power, likewise they will swear that they will not have or receive any gift, either gold or silver or precious stones, from any living person, but will hand it over entirely to whomsoever shall be appointed over the Common Treasury ; all alms shall be received and assigned and given over to the said Treasury, save two robes yearly, which they may receive for their own use, with the fur (*les pennes*) and no more. The robe is understood to be : tunic and under-tunic, cassock, and mantle with fur.¹ And they may also receive linen and birettas, girdles, coifs, daggers, shoes and such like things according to their needs,² and wine and

¹ The words used in the text are : ‘coute et corset et garnache et mantel avec les pennes’. For the ‘garnache’ see the Statutes of Margat, p. 48, and Para. 2 of the Statutes of 1263, p. 66, presumably it is the same as the cassock (*chapes*) mentioned in Para. 7 of the Statutes of 1288, p. 90. For the ‘mantel avec pennes’ see the Statutes of Margat, and Para. 2 of the Statutes of 1263, pp. 48, 66.

² The words used in the text are : ‘lines et chapiaus de bonet, saintures, coiffes, couteles, chausies’. For the ‘chapeau de bonet’,

food, which are to be consumed by themselves the same day or the following day. And each of these Definitors, who are appointed, shall take such an oath.

3. CONCERNING THE SAME.—

The Master, when he shall be elected, shall take the same oath upon the Gospels, and once more when he shall be appointed by those, who shall have the power to do so, that is to say the Definitors above mentioned, who shall have the Religion to govern and advise, save that the Master may receive things both from the brethren of the Hospital, as well as from other knightly persons (persons chevauchereuses). And he may and should receive nothing else from any person, ecclesiastic or secular, without the advice and consent of the Definitors or of the greater part of them. And very great care should be taken that the oath should not be overlooked, which the Master and those who are elected to the office of Definitor should take, for otherwise nothing could be done by those who shall not have sworn the oath. And all the things above and below written should be done and understood honourably and advantageously, and without any oversubtil and cunning interpretation on the part of the Master and the Definitors, and in such a way that they should tend to good purposes and serve an honourable end. And as they prove worthy to receive the approbation of God and the praise of men, may God preserve them, Amen.

4. CONCERNING THE SAME.—These are the causes for which the Masters and the brother Definitors shall be removed from office, if they be guilty of wrong doing, and it shall be proved against them : for heresy : for perjury, if they fail to retract after the third warning : for wilful murder : for sodomy : for going to dwell with unbelievers (mascreans), so long as the standard (gonfanon) should be displayed. For each of these things let him lose his office for ever, and be punished according as the sin shall demand.

5. CONCERNING THE SAME.—If the Master or any of the Definitors should be 75 years of age or more, he may at his pleasure quit his office ; and if he shall quit it, an honourable living should be arranged for him, and they should not

an early form of biretta, see Para. 9 of the Statutes of 1262, p. 55. The coif is a close fitting cap of white lawn worn underneath the biretta.

make another election, but should do as mentioned above should be done after the death of the Master, or any of the Definitors.

6. CONCERNING THE SAME.—If any of the aforesaid lose his senses or become mentally deficient (metengat), and it appear so to several people, let him lose his office. And this should be at the discretion of the other Definitors, and of the Master. And the Master, if he should be in like case, shall be at the same discretion and judgement of these Definitors. And provision should be made as need requires.

7. CONCERNING THE SAME.—If any of the Definitors should be of so perverse and contentious a nature that the Master and all the other Definitors unanimously with one voice and will, without anyone dissenting, on three occasions on three different days, declare him so to be each time, he should be removed from office and be placed in the Convent, and afterwards another brother of the same Tongue should be elected, in the manner that is ordained above.

8. CONCERNING THE SAME.—The sentence (justice) of the House upon all who offend should be equal, save that the Definitors should be judged by the Master, and by those holding office as Definitors, and by the others ; and if any of the Definitors lose his habit, it should be at the discretion of the Master and of the other Definitors to restore him to his office.

These ordinances above written were submitted to the Apostolic Father Boniface, that they might be confirmed to our Religion, by the prud'hommes above written, of whom Brother William de Villaret, very zealously and several times, importuned the said Apostolic Father and some of the Cardinals. But he left the court upon other business,¹ and they were not pressed so zealously, and the matter remained in suspense. In the which proceedings we may take good heart, for not only do they show the blameworthy works of unworthy men of days gone by, but also the praiseworthy things done by the prud'hommes in the past, which resulted in the continual improvement of the House.

¹ The other business upon which William de Villaret left Rome was his election to be Master on 26 March 1296. From that moment he probably took no further interest in reforms, which would inevitably lessen the power and dignity of his office.

APPENDIX C

LIST OF GRIEVANCES OF THE HOSPITALLERS

Letter Dated 3rd April 1296¹

To the Reverend Religious and Honourable, and their particular Father in Christ, Brother William de Villaret, by the Grace of God, Honourable Master of the Holy House of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, from your humble subjects all the brethren of the Convent, greeting and true obedience.

Sire, we find in Holy Scripture that when Our Lord walked upon earth, He made a vineyard, in which He placed many good plants, and He appointed a warden over that vineyard, and He gave it in charge to the said warden of the vineyard that he should guard well the said plants, and that he should often clear away from them the evil weeds. And He told him that if he did so, the plants would flourish and bear good fruit.

But this charge has not been well carried out and executed in times past, through the worldly sinfulness of the wardens, who have been over our vineyard, that is to say by the Masters, who have been over our Religion, and who have not carefully weeded and tended the plants of our Religion, that is to say the good statutes and customs, and the good ordinances of our House, by which our Order has been maintained and governed and waxed great in times past, and by which the worthy brethren (*frères prud'hommes*) of our Religion have been honoured, and the unworthy and erring chastised.

We, Sire, have seen, and we believe also that you have

¹ Written in French and printed in the *Cartulaire-Général*, Vol. III, No. 4310.

seen that a brother who was Commander in Germany, and by name Brother Herebertin Sibele,¹ was summoned this side the sea without appeal and without the advice of any, and he came, to the great harm of our House. We have seen, and we are certain that you also have seen, that some of the Masters, who have been in times past, have ordered some of our brethren hither and thither regardless of the ordinances and improperly, and have treated them dishonourably. For which reason all the brethren are so provoked, both the good as well as the others, because they have no certainty regarding their position.

We have also seen that the Masters have not kept the ordinances of the Chapters-General, as they had promised, nor caused their subjects to keep them. We have seen for too slight a reason Priors, who have been only one year Prior, and also, what is worse, these subjects have been forbidden to obey the rule regarding the time that it is customary for Priors to dwell in their Priories, before they are recalled. We have seen that the Masters issue their orders to the brethren in the Priories, and not to the Priors, to whom orders should be sent when there is no Grand Commander, and it is the duty of the Priors to see that they are carried out. We have also seen that the Masters, moved by covetousness, have retained certain Priories for their Chambers, which ought to have been granted by Chapter-General, and which are accustomed to be governed and managed by some of the prud'hommes of our House. Some have even taken and kept in every Priory houses and bailiwicks for their Chambers, others also have never ceased asking and demanding aids from the brethren in the Priories, so that the brethren, for shame at the requests of the Master and for fear also, have wrought havoc with the goods of their bailiwicks, in order to send them something, there where sometimes they had not sufficient to pay their Responsions, by which the condition of the houses and the means of the Priors have been much injured. Others also have reduced the offices of the Capitular Bailiffs (*fais par chapitre-general*), and have taken

¹ No Grand Commander of Germany is known bearing this name, nor could so exalted an official have been ordered about in an arbitrary manner, Herebertin Sibele must therefore have been a simple German Commander, appointed by one of the Priors.

that which ought to come to the aforesaid Bailiffs by reason of their office. Some of the Masters for the sake of winning temporal glory, have given away and expended lavishly and without advice the goods of the House, which should have been spent for the benefit of our Lords the sick, to sustain them and the poor. And many other things they have done which we believe that you know, and which would be long to write. All which things would be to the damage of the Religion and of Arms, unless Our Lord had provided for us : which things ill become the Master and his office, which demands that he should chastise those subjects who are at fault, and should admonish the others to do well, giving them good examples of a good life and honourable dealing.

And for this reason, Sire, we all with one accord make our humble prayer to you, as to a father that, out of reverence for Our Lord and for our patron Saint John Baptist, who has called you and chosen you to govern his House, you should keep yourself from the things above written and such things already mentioned, and that you should obey the good customs and statutes of our Religion, which you are bound to obey, and which you should promise to keep and should see are observed by others. For when you have made this promise, your election will be confirmed. May Our Lord grant you the blessings of this life. Written at Limassol, in the year of Our Lord 1296, on the third day of April.

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